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MODERN ROME IN MODERN ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

'THE SECOND SPRING'

ON July 13, 1852, John Henry Newman, preaching in the Synod of Oscott, described in very eloquent terms the extraordinary rate of progress effected by the Roman Catholic Church in England since the passing of the Emancipation Act of 1829. He took for his text the words, 'Arise, make haste, my Love, my Dove, my Beautiful One, and come. For the winter is now past, the rain is over and gone. The flowers have appeared in our land.' In this sermon Newman dwelt lovingly on the transformation scene observed in England since the repeal of the penal laws. The dark days were gone, never to return; and before his Church in these islands lay unfolded the prospects of a brilliant future. Not three decades had intervened since the year 1829,

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the date of the Emancipation Act, yet a marvellous change had taken place in the position. From being the weakest of all the Christian creeds represented in Great Britain, Rome had, he alleged, risen to be second in importance to Anglicanism alone. The Oxford Movement had healed old wounds, and had given a new impetus to the Roman Catholic revival. Monks and nuns, no longer afraid to show themselves in the streets, were building numerous monasteries and convents. The old-time hierarchy had been re-established.[1] Seminaries for training secular priests were to be found in every diocese. It was a 'Second Spring'; and the work of the Reformation in England was daily being undone. Such was Newman's view.

In describing the internal condition of Roman Catholicism in England, as it existed at about the end of the eighteenth century, or at the beginning of the nineteenth, Dr. Newman referred to the ancient faith as being 'no longer the Catholic Church in the country;—nay, no longer, I may say, a Catholic community;—but a few adherents of the Old Religion, moving silently and sorrowfully about, as memorials of what had been the

[1] The last survivor of the Marian bishops was Dr. Thomas Goldwell, formerly of St. Asaph. He died at Rome, 1585. This Oscott Synod was the first held by the Roman Church in England since the reign of Mary.

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"Roman Catholics";—not a sect even,—not an interest,—not, as men conceived of it, a body, however small, representative of the Great Communion abroad,—but a mere handful of individuals, who might be counted, like the pebbles and the detritus of the great Deluge; and who, forsooth, merely happened to retain opinions, which in their day were the profession of the Church. Here, a set of poor Irishmen, coming and going at harvest time, or a colony of them lodged in a miserable quarter of the vast metropolis. There, perhaps, an elderly person, seen walking in the streets, grave, and solitary, and strange, though noble in bearing, and said to be of good family, and—a Roman Catholic. An old-fashioned house of gloomy appearance, closed in with high walls, with an iron gate, and yews, and the report attaching to it that "Roman Catholics" lived there; but who they were, or what they did, or what was meant by calling them "Roman Catholics," no one could tell, though it had an unpleasant sound, and told of form and superstition. . . . Such were the Catholics of England, found in corners, and alleys, and cellars, and the housetops, or in the recesses of the country; cut off from the populous world around them, and dimly seen as if through a mist or in twilight, as ghosts flitting to and fro, by the high Protestants, the Lords of the earth. At length, so feeble did

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they become, so utterly contemptible, that contempt gave birth to pity.'[1]

But, although much of the lost ground had been recovered since these times of which Newman spoke, it was clear that the former prolonged era of depression and persecution had left an indelible mark on Roman Catholicism in England. The lack of a good education, and the continuous intermarriage of relatives,[2] had told heavily from an intellectual point of view upon all classes of Romanists. After the repeal of the penal laws, they found themselves free to wander, as it were, in a strange land. More than two centuries of social isolation had tended to cause them to appear almost as foreigners in the eyes of their fellow-countrymen, by many of whom they were treated as if they were of French or German extraction. They themselves, too, had much to forgive, before they could see their way to forget the penalties inflicted on their ancestors by the State. Hardly a family of note had escaped in the past being represented by one or more of its members as a 'martyr' on the

[1] Thackeray is said to have been able to repeat by heart the whole of Newman's sermon, so much did he admire it, after reading the printed report.

[2] The great prevalence of mental diseases among the old Roman Catholic families in England is evidently the result of this intermarriage.

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scaffold, or as an exile abroad, escaped from the clutches of the pursuivants at home. Scarcely a family had escaped being wholly, or nearly ruined, or seriously embarrassed by the infliction of enormous fines.

Rome had persecuted relentlessly, and in turn her children suffered. The persecution of the British Roman Catholics from the reign of Queen Elizabeth down to that of Charles II., and again from William and Mary down to the second George, forms one of the blackest incidents in our history, and the names of the sufferers can be traced in letters of blood in the statute-books.

The lot of the loyal Romanist gentry had been far from a happy one, however, on account of other causes besides that of Protestant domination. Internal troubles had been almost as injurious to their position. The intolerant and selfish policy of the Papal Curia had produced most awkward results. By the Papal interference with English politics, the Romanists on this side of the Channel had practically been forced either to become traitors to their country or disobedient to the Holy See. There had been no end to the constant blunders of Rome in dealing with England during the reigns of Elizabeth and of the first three Stewarts; whilst the headstrong conduct of James II., although not, in this instance, welcomed at head-quarters, proved the

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ultimate ruin of their cause. The excommunication of Queen Elizabeth by Pope Pius V. had been as great a political error as it actually was a crime.[1] The mission of the Jesuits had produced equally disastrous effects, and the loyal Romanist gentry had been undeservedly compelled to suffer for the sins of Fathers Parsons, Garnet, Greenway, and Petre, to say nothing of those misguided men Robert Catesby, Guy Fawkes, Sir Everard Digby, Thomas Percy, and the rest of the conspirators engaged in the Gunpowder Plot.

At the period of the Emancipation Act, it did not at first appear at all likely that very great strides would be made, for some long time, in advancing the Roman Catholic cause. The great day of liberty had come, but progress was slow in development. It is a little-known, and curious fact, indeed, that many families which had remained staunch to their faith during the last two centuries suddenly left their Church as the day of freedom dawned. This is an extraordinary circumstance, but one not so difficult of explanation

[1] 'It looks as if Divine Providence wished the Reformation to succeed: for everything the Popes did to destroy it came to nought. When the Pope excommunicated Queen Elizabeth, he, of course, wished and expected the Catholics of England to accept his Bull and renounce their allegiance to the Queen, whereas they to a man deplored the Bull' (Father Duggan, *Steps towards Reunion*).

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as it would seem at first sight. Such families had, during the era of the penal laws, felt no little pride in suffering for their oppressed religion. To abandon their religion then would have suggested motives of cowardice, or cupidity. Moreover, there was, after all, something peculiarly exciting and romantic in hearing Mass said in rooms with their doors securely locked and guarded, in hiding away fugitive priests in secret chambers, and in confessing to secular priests and monks got up as farmers, or bagmen. But when the restrictions imposed by the penal laws were gone, all the romance went too. Life became more prosaic, and the English laity became more directly subservient to their clergy, who insisted on their attending more regularly to their religious duties than heretofore, when hearing Mass, or going to confession, had been always a matter of both difficulty and danger. As late even as the latter part of the eighteenth century, to hear Mass said in London, except at certain chapels belonging to the Roman Catholic Ambassadors (Portuguese, Spanish, French, Sardinian, and Bavarian), had been to run the risk of imprisonment.

An interesting example of this, in the year 1772, is recorded in the following account[1] of how a lady and gentleman—a lately married couple—heard their first Mass, on their reception into the Roman

[1] From *A Hundred Years Ago* (Burns and Oates).

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Catholic Church at the hands of the learned Dr. Challoner, Bishop of Debra, and Vicar-Apostolic of the London District.

'We started,' says one of the converts,[1] 'from our lodgings at 5 a.m. to be present for the first time at a Catholic religious service, or at "prayers," as it was generally called, for the word Mass was scarcely ever used in conversation. We arrived at a public-house in some back street near the house in which Mr. Horne resided. I felt rather frightened, seeing some very rough-looking poor people, as we passed through the entrance, though all were very quiet. These people, I was told, were Irish workmen, who, with a few women, were assembled on that Sunday morning to hear prayers said, when they could be admitted. . . . We mounted, higher and higher, escorted by a young man from the priest's house, who had come forward at once to conduct us. When we arrived at the top, the door of a garret was unlocked, and as we entered we saw at the furthest end what seemed a high table, or chest-of-drawers with the back turned towards us. . . .

'In a few minutes the door was opened, and the Venerable Dr. Challoner, accompanied by Mr. Horne[2] and another priest, entered the garret,

[1] Mrs. Sidney.

[2] The Rev. James Horne, chaplain to the Venetian Embassy in London.

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the door of which was secured inside by the assistant, who then proceeded to unlock some drawers, behind what I found was to be used as an altar, and take out the vestments and other things requisite for the Church service. . . . Soon afterwards we heard the door-key turn, and several rough footsteps enter the garret, then some gentle taps, and words were exchanged between a powerful-looking Irishman at the door, who kept his post close to it, and those outside, which were passwords of admission.[1] The key was again turned each time any one entered, and just before the Bishop vested himself to say Mass, bolts were drawn also, and no one else could pass into the garret. In the meanwhile, the young man in attendance had prepared all that was required for the Mass, taken from behind what was used as the altar, which was covered with a linen cloth. A crucifix and two lighted candles were placed on it, and in the front was suspended a piece of satin damask, in the centre of which was a cross of gold lace. . . .

[1] A priest caught saying Mass made himself liable to the penalty of death until the Act of relief passed in 1778. In this very year a Scottish ecclesiastic, returning to his Mission in Edinburgh after a few days' absence, found the mob burning his chapel. He even heard one of the rioters—a woman—lamenting that they 'could not catch the Roman Catholic Bishop, so that they might throw him upon the top of the bonfire.'

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'When all was over, and I was praying to God to increase my faith, I heard the door-key turn once more, and all the rough footsteps leaving the garret. The two priests, assisted by the young man in attendance, replaced the vestments, candle-sticks, and all that was used at the Mass, behind the altar, locking up all carefully, and leaving the garret—an ordinary one in appearance —as before.'

The house in which this secret service took place was probably situated in the Holborn district,[1] in one of the short lanes leading towards Lincoln's Inn Fields. In the metropolis, and in other large towns, hearing Mass on Sunday (it was rarely said on week-days) was more perilous than in the country. In a few Lancashire missions; at East Hendred, in Berkshire; at Stonor, in Oxfordshire; at Hazlewood, Yorkshire; and at West Grinstead, in Sussex, Mass had been said regularly since the Reformation.

But, several years before the date of Newman's sermon of the 'Second Spring,' Rome in England had received an extraordinary accession of strength, which had been quite unforeseen when

[1] At the 'Ship,' a tavern in Little Turnstile, Holborn, Dr. James Archer used to preach some of his celebrated sermons. This clever priest had once actually been a pot-boy in this very public-house. His listeners used, sometimes, to order beer, to disarm suspicion. Dr. Archer was only about five feet, and perhaps one inch, in height.

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the Emancipation Act became law. The Oxford Movement turned public attention in the direction of Rome, to which it soon presented a whole host of converts. In 1848, St. George's Cathedral, Southwark, was opened, at a ceremony of much magnificence, by Dr. Wiseman. In 1849, was consecrated the first mitred abbot in England since the Reformation. This was the saintly John Bernard Palmer, a convert, the head of the Cistercian (Trappist) monastery in Charnwood Forest, Leicestershire. The year 1850 saw the re-establishment of the hierarchy, and two years later Newman was enabled to preach about the extraordinary rate of progress effected in England since 1829.

It is a common error, nevertheless, to suppose that the recruits gained to Rome by the Oxford Movement were, on their reception into the Church, welcomed by hereditary Roman Catholics with cordiality, for such, as a rule, was not the case. Among the born Roman Catholics two schools existed: one which wished to make the most of the new state of things, and get thereby as many converts as possible; the other, distrustful of this so sudden turn of the tide, anxious only to proceed with extreme care and caution, rather than run the risk of receiving converts unlikely to submit willingly to the stricter discipline of the Roman Communion. The members of this latter,

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conservative, 'keep-what-we-have-got' school, argued that it was not advisable to place implicit trust in the Oxford converts, many of whom were really more Roman than themselves, and who were bent upon introducing modern Italian devotions,[1] distasteful to the old English Catholics, whose Gallican tendencies were unpopular with the new men. The fears of this old school were, it must be admitted, based on substantial grounds, when we consider how rampant was the Ultramontanism of most of the Oxford converts. The superior education of the Oxford men was also an offence to the older school, who had for so long lived an isolated existence, cut off from all connection with our public educational establishments, or great universities. 'Speaking in argument with English Catholics,' exclaimed Dr. W. G. Ward, soon after his conversion, 'is like talking with savages!'

With the help of the leading converts, religious orders, totally unsuited to English life and to English ideas, were introduced from abroad, and settled in London. The Oblates of St. Charles

[1] Even Wiseman, at first, did not approve of some of the devotions practised by the Oratorians, but gradually gave way to them, whilst Dr. Griffiths, a vicar-apostolic, had warned Newman against such devotions. He went to Rome to protest against the Jesuits being allowed to open a church in London (at Farm Street), but the Pope rejected his appeal. Dr. W. G. Ward used to call Dr. Griffiths 'Anti-Christ.'

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took up their residence in Bayswater, under Dr. Manning, and the Oratorians of St. Philip at Brompton. The *Glories of Mary* of St. Alfonso Maria de Liguori was translated, or partly translated, into English, and circulated. The frequent recital of the Rosary, and of the litany of Loretto,[1] was warmly recommended, and the devotion of the 'Forty Hours,' hitherto unknown in England, was introduced and adopted in London. Ugly churches, built in cheap imitation of Italian basilicas, sprang up in different parts of the country. Roman vestments, and operatic Masses, were generally adopted for use in these basilicas. In all directions the liberal-minded tendencies of the born Roman Catholics were gradually being checked by the Italianated policy of the Oxford men. So sharp, indeed, grew the contention between the old school and the new, and so long was it before the latter finally triumphed, that at a date quite fifty years after the framing of the Emancipation Act, the

[1] As an instance of the dislike in which this litany of Loretto was originally held in England, Lord Acton used to relate that, when a certain 'Italianated' priest officiated, for the first time, as chaplain in Lord Shrewsbury's household, that nobleman rose from his knees, on hearing the chaplain commence the litany, and told him to stop, saying that English Catholics were not used to this modern devotion. The cultus of the 'Sacred Heart' was also very unpopular on its first introduction from abroad.

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Rev. Arthur Galton, writing about his removal from the Brompton Oratory to Oscott, says: 'Without thinking, I had migrated from an outlying fortress of the "Romans" into a stronghold of the "Goths," from the jurisdiction of Manning to the diocese of Ullathorne and the neighbourhood of Newman. The buildings and the furniture at Oscott were all "Gothic." The music was plain chant. Operatic Masses were as offensive to their pious ears as Roman vestments to their eyes.'

Many of the ultra-Roman innovations in use at the Brompton Oratory complained of by Mr. Galton were originally introduced by Father Faber, whose admiration of St. Alfonso de Liguori's writings, and his extreme views on the doctrine of purgatory, created unfavourable comment among the 'old school' of English Romanists. In 1848, the publication of his edition of the *Lives of the Modern Saints* met with strong disapproval, not merely from the laity, but from the Roman clergy as well, with the result that the Vicars-Apostolic compelled Faber[1] to withdraw

[1] 'It is only a few years ago since a well-known English Roman Catholic priest and controversialist extracted a series of more than eighty heretical propositions from the works of the late Father Faber, and endeavoured to get them censured at Rome, on the ground that they were doing serious mischief here to orthodoxy. The answer he got practically amounted to this: that his charges were perfectly true in themselves, but that

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all copies of the work from circulation, much to the dejection of himself and his friends. 'How little,' he complained, 'did we, whom the lives of the Catholic Saints helped so much towards our conversion, then dream that the Catholics of England should be so frightened, ashamed, or unsympathetic, whichever it may be, as to refuse to tolerate "Lives" of their own Saints.'[1] J. A. Froude, the historian, before his change of faith, had been one of the earliest contributors to this series, and it is recorded of him that, in concluding a memoir of St. Benedict, he wound up with the words, 'Now, this is all that is known, and more than all that is known, of the life of the Blessed Benedict!' Pugin had Faber particularly in his mind when he wrote, in scathing criticism of the Oratorians and their ways, that 'the Oxford men, with some few exceptions, have turned out the most disappointing people in the world! They were thrice as Catholic in their ideas before they were received

it would never do to condemn so useful and thorough-going a partisan of the extremest Ultramontanism' (Littledale). Father Faber's so-called 'double-view of Purgatory,' invented by himself, was beyond doubt heretical.

[1] Faber and his friends, however, triumphed partly in the end, when Manning became Archbishop of Westminster. By Cardinal Manning's direction, St. Alfonso Maria de Liguori's *Glories of Mary* was newly translated into English, and extensively circulated.

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into the Church. It is really quite lamentable. They have got the most disgusting place possible for the Oratory in London, and fitted up in a horrible manner, with a sort of Anglo-Roman altar. These things are very sad, and the mischief they do is inconceivable.'

The innovations introduced by 'the Oxford men,' of which Pugin complained, would certainly not have met with approval from Dr. Challoner, referred to above, and the great majority of the English Romanists of his generation. Dr. Challoner was, indeed, a good representative of the 'old school' among the English Roman Catholics, a school now unhappily quite extinct. Born in the reign of William and Mary, he lived through the reigns of Anne, George I., George II., and the first quarter of that of George III. Richard Challoner was the son of Protestant parents, his father having been a wine-cooper in Sussex. After his death his widow became a Roman Catholic, as did their son,[1] who went to Douai to be educated for the priesthood, of which college he became vice-president. In 1730, Challoner was sent on the English mission, and resided, henceforth,

[1] Challoner was received into the Roman Church by the Rev. John Goter, a very learned and pious man. He died at sea in 1704. Part of Challoner's educational expenses were defrayed by a lady, whose father was executed for his supposed share in the 'Popish Plot.'

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chiefly in London. In 1739, he was appointed coadjutor to the Vicar-Apostolic of the London District, and was created Bishop of Debra (*In Partibus Infidelium*), much to the disappointment of the authorities at Douai, who had petitioned Propaganda to have Challoner elected president of their college. In 1758, Bishop Challoner succeeded Dr. Petre as Vicar-Apostolic of the London District.[1] In 1780, Challoner, now a very old man, had to go into hiding during the fury of the Gordon Riots, much to the detriment of his health. He died on January 10 of the following year. His remains were interred in the vault of a gentleman named Barret, at Milton, Berkshire, where his funeral rites were read by the Vicar of the parish from the Book of Common Prayer, and the Vicar recorded the event, as follows, in the parish register: 'A.D. 1781, Jan. 22: Buried the Rev. Dr. Richard Challoner, a Popish priest, and titular Bishop of London and Salisbury: a very pious and good man, of great learning and extensive abilities.'

Dr. Challoner's episcopal career in London was of a most romantic character. All his movements had to be enveloped in secrecy. He had frequently to change his lodgings. He dared not

[1] In 1759, the Hon. James Talbot became coadjutor to Challoner, with right of succession. He was indicted, and tried at the Old Bailey, for saying Mass, but was acquitted.

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even wear a black suit out of doors. He had always to dress like a layman. He could only say Mass (except in one of the Embassy chapels) behind locked doors, and that generally in some 'miserable and ruinous apartment.' Even in the Embassy chapels he was not allowed to preach a sermon in English, and for this purpose he had recourse to a public-house in Holborn, where his congregation used to smoke and drink the while, in order not to attract attention. In the London District, at this period, there were about twenty-five thousand Roman Catholics, of whom not more than one hundred and fifty were priests.[1] In 1767, the total number of Romanists throughout England and Wales was calculated at about sixty-nine thousand.

Dr. Challoner was an indefatigable writer of books and treatises. His *Garden of the Soul* is still the most popular Roman Catholic prayer-book used in Great Britain, and his *Memoirs of the Missionary Priests* has become a standard work. He also issued a revised edition of the Rheims and Douai version of the Holy Scriptures.

[1] The London District consisted of the counties of Essex, Middlesex, Hertford, Bedfordshire, Bucks, Berks, Surrey, Kent, Sussex, Hants, and the Channel Islands.

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CHAPTER II

THE DECLINE OF GALLICANISM

NOTWITHSTANDING the very insignificant position held by the Roman Catholic community during the hundred years immediately prior to the Act of Emancipation, and in spite of the low ebb to which its numbers had sunk, Rome in England could boast of a far larger number of clever men than would be imagined from listening to the deceptive rhetoric of Newman's 'Second Spring.' The truth is that the majority of these capable men were Gallicans, that is to say, they were Roman Catholics who, following the example of certain famous French ecclesiastics, were determined to defend the prerogatives of their religion, and the laws and liberties of their native country, against undue and arbitrary encroachments, political as well as spiritual, on the part of the Holy See.

The list of these English Gallicans, who lived mainly during the last half of the eighteenth, and

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during the first half of the nineteenth century, includes such names as those of the Rev. Joseph Berington (1747–1827), an industrious historian and antiquary; Charles Butler (1750–1832), a sagacious lawyer,[1] brilliant controversialist, and erudite historian, nephew to the Rev. Allan Butler (1710–1773), the pious hagiographer; Dr. James Archer (1751–1834); Richard Challoner, Bishop of Debra (1691–1781), the compiler of the *Garden of the Soul;* Canon Mark Tierney, F.R.S., F.S.A. (1795–1862), editor of Charles Dodd's[2] *Church History;* Bishop Talbot; Sir John Throckmorton (1753–1819); Dr. Lingard (1771–1851), the great historian; and Bishop Poynter (1762–1827). Amongst other famous names, outside the Gallican ranks, we come across those of Dr. John Milner (1752–1826), the 'English Athanasius'; Dr. George Oliver (1781–1861), a talented writer in the service of the English Jesuits; the Rev. F. G. Husenbeth, D.D. (1796–1872); Charles Waterton (1782–1865), the eminent naturalist; William Eusebius Andrews (1773–1837); Dr.

[1] Butler was grandfather of the veteran county court judge, Stonor.

[2] The Rev. Hugh Tootell (1672–1743), who wrote under the name of Charles Dodd. His last years were rendered unhappy by the bitter attacks made upon him by the Jesuits, which affected his health. Tierney did not succeed in completing Dodd's work; the opposition of the Ultramontanes was too strong for him.

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Daniel Rock (1799–1872), a liturgical scholar of lasting renown; and Father Charles Plowden, S.J. (1743–1821).

These English Gallicans were the survivors of a powerful school which had always existed in this country from Norman times: a school that had persistently defended the national privileges against the usurpations of the Popes. Thus, the Bishops who signed Magna Charta acted against the orders of the Pope. The Bishops who supported Henry II. against Archbishop Becket acted in direct opposition to the Pope. In Queen Mary's reign, Archbishop Heath, with Bishops Bonnor and Gardiner, were undoubtedly Gallicans, as were quite half of the Roman Catholic clergy resident in England during the reigns of Elizabeth and all the Stewarts.

For some forty years prior to 1829 a great battle had been waged between the English Gallicans and their Ultramontane opponents as to certain provisions in the Bill for the repeal of the penal laws. Although this Bill did not become law till the year 1829, its successful passage through Parliament had been expected to take place long before that date. William Pitt, indeed, had solemnly promised to carry through the measure, but had gone back on his word in order to please King George III., who thought that by the terms of his Coronation Oath

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he was debarred, as King, from sanctioning any such scheme. The feeling of George III. was inherited by George IV., hence the renewed delay.

On the Bill becoming law, the Gallicans feared that the Holy See, forgetful of past experiences, would again repeat its old blunders by sending over foreign priests to act as Vicars-Apostolic, or Bishops, and by permitting the return of the Jesuits in force. The English Gallicans, headed by such men as Sir John Throckmorton, Charles Butler, Dr. Kirk, and Bishop Poynter, wished the British Government to retain a veto in regard to the election of all the Roman Catholic Bishops appointed for England and Wales. That the Gallicans would, in spite of the extreme indignation their policy caused at Rome, have got the best of the struggle is probable, had it not been for the extraordinary and untiring energy displayed against them by the leader of their opponents, Bishop Milner. This ecclesiastic, an Ultramontane to the backbone—who was supported by the Irish bishops, by the Jesuits, and by one or two of his own colleagues—strained every nerve to prevent the right of veto being granted to the British Government. Although he died before the Act was passed, he had the satisfaction of living long enough to know that he and his friends had won a complete victory. By the terms of the Act,

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Rome was left with unrestrained powers as to the selection and method of election of the Bishops, and although the presence of the Jesuits in England was still forbidden, the prohibitory clauses relating to their habitation here have never been put into legal operation. 'If it had not been for Dr. Milner,' wrote, in after years, the Ultramontane Monsignor George Talbot to Cardinal Manning, 'almost a schism would have taken place in England. Roman principles go very much against the grain of English Catholics!'

The British Government had, in truth, but little reason to congratulate itself upon the solution of the Catholic question. In the first place, the final measure of relief ought to have been passed in the reign of George III. Had this been done, the agitation in Ireland, which nearly developed into civil war, would have been averted. In the end, too, the Government played into the hands of their enemies, by refusing to aid the loyal Roman Catholics and accept the right of veto. Ministers, indeed, were not actuated by sympathy with the Roman Catholics, but by feelings of fear as to what might happen in Ireland. The Duke of Wellington candidly confessed that he consented to the Bill merely to save civil war, and for no other reason.

The internal struggle between Dr. Milner's anti-national party and the patriotic Gallicans had

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been a desperate one. Hostilities had first broken out on the question of the 'oath,'[1] they had been renewed on the question of the 'veto,' and on that of the recognition of the Jesuits. Dr. John Milner, called by Cardinal Newman the 'English Athanasius,' was by no means a courteous controversialist. His criticisms of his opponents were couched, both in speaking and writing, in extremely vulgar and violent language, until at last his very friends at Rome had to intervene, and Propaganda prohibited his publishing further articles in the English press.[2] A man of humble origin, he was never able to throw off the manners of his class, whilst his fits of absent-mindedness often led him into positions of difficulty. His endeavours to restore the images in the churches, to check the circulation of the Bible, to help the Jesuits, and to introduce modern and extreme devotions to the Virgin, and to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, gave wide-spread offence.

With all his faults, however, Milner was a hard-working man. As an antiquary he won a high reputation, and some of his theological

[1] At one time the Gallicans, fighting Bishop Milner on this question, actually took the extraordinary title of 'Protesting Catholic Dissenters.'

[2] The Pope, on this occasion, called Milner '*Une tête brûlée!*'

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treatises had a large sale.[1] On his death-bed, his biographer, Dr. Husenbeth, relates, that he said to those around him, 'Don't talk of any merits of mine: speak to me of the merits of my Saviour! Don't call me "My Lord": I am nothing now but plain John Milner, a poor sinner!' He was certainly the most vigorous and most useful servant employed on behalf of Ultramontane Romanism since the death of Archbishop Becket; and he, unfortunately, was successful in arranging his schemes for 'Italinating' his religion in England. The pro-papal work which he had begun was carried on, and completed, by Cardinals Wiseman and Manning.

At the date (1803) of Dr. Milner's elevation to the episcopal charge of what was then called the Midland District, the total numbers of the Romanists living in England and Wales were estimated at about seventy thousand, of whom a large proportion were of Irish extraction. The extensive Midland District of which Milner was Vicar-Apostolic, consisted of the shires of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Lincoln, Nottingham, Oxford, Leicester, Derby, Salop, Worcester, Stafford, and Warwick. A huge diocese, indeed. Yet it did not contain more than some seventy-three

[1] His *End of Controversy* had a very large circulation in its day, and is said to have made many converts to Roman Catholicism.

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Missions, of which many merely consisted of private chapels situated in country houses. In Staffordshire there were some seventeen chapels (there are now more than four times that number); but in Warwickshire there were only about eight; and less than eight, respectively, in each of the other counties. In not one of these Missions was High Mass celebrated, and in very few was Low Mass said on any week-day. In the whole district there was only one cope.

After the death of Charles Butler, Milner's ablest adversary, Gallicanism in England began slowly to decline. The sudden establishment of the Hierarchy, in 1850, under an Ultramontane primate, gave it a deadly wound. The dogma of Infallibility, in 1870, dealt it the *coup de grâce*. Modern Liberal Catholicism retains, nevertheless, many elements of Gallicanism, and the lessons taught by Charles Butler, Joseph Berington, Canon Tierney, and Bishop Poynter were not given to the world in vain. Liberal Catholicism has produced several English scholars well worthy of comparison with their Gallican predecessors, such as Richard Simpson,[1] Professor Mivart, H. N.

[1] Richard Simpson, born in 1820, died in 1876. He was a convert from the Church of England. His contributions to the *Rambler* caused much perturbation at Archbishop's House. He is said to have assisted Gladstone in attacking the dogma of the Infallibility of the Pope. The standard biography of Edmund Campion is written by him.

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Oxenham, the late Lord Acton, and, in some respects, Coventry Patmore.

In concluding this brief survey of Gallicanism, it would be a serious omission to make no further mention of the greatest of its modern votaries in England. I refer to the Rev. John Lingard, LL.D., D.D., whose *magnum opus*, despite its faults, is secure of holding a permanent place in our literature. Dr. Lingard was the son of a gardener in employment at Winchester, and his mother was the daughter of a small farmer; but both his parents belonged to Roman Catholic families of some antiquity in Lincolnshire. Educated abroad at Douai, Lingard returned home, after narrowly escaping death at the hands of a revolutionary mob. Ordained a priest, he resided first at Ushaw College, of which he became President. In order to pursue his historical studies at leisure, he refused all ecclesiastical preferment, and took charge of the small and secluded Mission of Hornby, in Lancashire, where he wrote his elaborate *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, and his *History of England*. He was eventually granted, as a reward for his labours, an annual pension of three hundred pounds by the British Government. He was also within an ace of receiving a cardinal's hat from Pope Leo XII., by whom, indeed, he is generally understood to have been declared a cardinal

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in petto, although this was not the opinion of Cardinal Wiseman.

John Lingard's rise from so humble a position to that finally occupied by him in the learned world savours almost of a romance. He was the first English Roman Catholic priest to become recognized and honoured outside the narrow limits of his own Communion since the Reformation. A man of untiring courage and resolution, he laboured under dire difficulties in obtaining access to the documents necessary for his studies; his want of money, and the unpopularity of his calling forming serious initial impediments in his progress towards success. But these were not his only difficulties, for he was also most unfairly hampered by certain bigoted Roman Catholics, of whom the principal were Bishop Milner and the Jesuits. These jealous persons had wished him to write a history 'according to order'—that is, one which should be thoroughly partial and pro-papal—and they were very angry with him for his impartial treatment of such cases as the dispute between Archbishop Becket and Henry II., and the equivocations of Father Garnet, S.J. Dr. Milner even went so far as to make the most scurrilous personal attacks upon Lingard, couched in the coarse and vulgar phraseology of which that excitable ecclesiastic was unhappily proficient. Attempts quietly made at Rome to get the

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History put on the 'Index Expurgatorius' luckily failed, and Lingard triumphed in the end, living to earn the admiration and esteem of learned men like Eyre, Poynter, Tierney, Wiseman, Lord Holland, and Lord Brougham. At his little house in Hornby he often entertained illustrious visitors. In private life John Lingard was the most humble, patient, and lovable of persons, and preferred to pass away an uneventful existence in the rustic seclusion of a Lancashire village rather than inhabit a cardinal's luxurious palace in the city of the Cæsars. It was by Dr. Lingard's tact and assiduity that the English College at Rome was rescued from relapsing into the hands of the Jesuits, and restored to the secular clergy, its original owners.[1]

[1] The English College at Rome had fallen into the hands of the Jesuits shortly before the end of the sixteenth century, and had remained under their control until their suppression in 1773. On their restoration in 1814, they endeavoured to recover the College, but were eventually prevented by Lingard, acting on behalf of Bishop Poynter.

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CHAPTER III

NEWMAN AND THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN was quietly received into the Roman Catholic Church on the evening of October 9, 1845, by Father Dominic Barberi, a Passionist priest, at Littlemore, near Oxford. His secession from the Church of England was at one time describd by Lord Beaconsfield as a blow from which the Establishment still reels. Newman lived to reach his ninetieth year, spending about half his life in the Anglican Church, and about half in the Roman.[1]

That the half of his career spent in the Roman Church was, on the whole, particularly peaceful or prosperous, it would be futile to assert. From the time of his conversion until the date of his death, Newman was fated to be misunderstood by many prominent Roman Catholics. All his schemes for undertaking some great work on behalf of his

[1] The date of Newman's ordination as a Roman Catholic priest has not yet been made public.

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new creed fell through and failed. His residence at Dublin as President of a Roman Catholic University was not attended with success. His cherished plan for another translation of the New Testament into English was marred by the authorities at Rome; just as his proposal to take his Oratory to Oxford was rejected by the influence of Cardinal Manning. He was unjustly abused for the attitude assumed by him in connection with the Vatican Council, which he was not allowed to attend. He was not created a Cardinal till he was a very old man,[1] and he never held any episcopal rank. Until very late in his life, 'an insolent and aggressive faction' looked upon his conversion to their religion as a great blow to their cause, and made no secret of the fact that they were sorry he ever left Littlemore. Between Manning and Newman there raged as fierce a fight as had been carried on between Bishops Milner and Poynter. So persistent and so subtle were the attacks made upon him by Cardinal Manning, that Newman was once stung into the bitter rejoinder, 'I hardly know whether I stand on my head or my heels, when I have active relations with you!'

Tardy justice was done to Newman's reputation

[1] His creation as Cardinal was, nevertheless, very welcome to him, in the light of Manning's opposition, and he joyfully exclaimed, 'Now is the cloud lifted from me for ever.'

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after his death. His co-religionists recognized, at last, how much his name and fame had helped their cause. Cardinal Manning, preaching at a requiem-mass at the Brompton Oratory, so far forgot himself even as to refer to his 'Brother and Friend of more than sixty years.' An amazing lapse of memory, indeed! But the old controversies were buried in the grave. Roman Catholics had begun to understand that they had entertained a great man unawares, and honoured his memory accordingly.

Although Newman was, as a Roman Catholic priest, a disappointed man, his general success as a writer was extraordinary, when one reflects how ill adapted were the subjects of his works to suit the public taste. Allowing that he ranks as one of the great masters of pure English prose, it must be admitted that nearly all his works have, on their merits, received their very fullest meed of praise. The *Apologia* does not convey the impression that, when its author was received into the Roman Church, he was really at heart an enthusiastic Papist. It would have been a far more valuable 'human document' if the author had related candidly some of the trials and troubles encountered by him 'after' he had entered the Roman Catholic Church.[1] The credulous reader

[1] The *Apologia*, it must be remembered, was written before the definition of the Infallibility of the Pope, in 1870.

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is practically asked to believe that after Newman had 'buried his doubts in the bosom of an Infallible Church,' the rest of his career was passed in peace and quietness, untroubled by further controversial warfare. Such was not the case. Again, Newman's almost total ignorance of science, and of the German language, prevented him from being really able to study at all accurately many of those subjects upon which, with all the artifices of his curious but deceptive logic, he was wont emphatically to lay down the law. To class Cardinal Newman as a writer is, indeed, very hard. He was, however, a poet,[1] although perhaps his *Dream of Gerontius* has obtained more than its proper share of eulogy.

It may be doubted if Newman, and those of his friends identified with the Oxford Movement, who seceded with him, gave so great an impetus to the Roman Catholic revival in Great Britain as is so constantly asserted. By a large number of Romanists Newman's admission into their Church was always held to have done it more harm than good. But very few of those who went over with him achieved any great fame in their new Church, and some of those who did

[1] He was also a very accomplished musician, being an especially skilful and devoted violinist. His musical abilities have, indeed, hitherto been insufficiently recognized by writers dealing with his career.

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undoubtedly come to the front succeeded in making, by their Ultramontane writings, hosts of enemies. Moreover, before Newman and his friends had ever begun to consider the question of 'going over,' a brilliant campaign was being carried on from the Roman side by one who had no connection with Oxford—but who was the superior of any of the Oxford men in point of ability—Monsignor (afterwards Cardinal) Wiseman, in favour of the profound impression created by whose London lectures in 1836[1] Newman has himself warmly testified. The writings of Dr. John Lingard, another born Catholic, carried very great weight, and attracted general attention to the progress of Rome in England. Mr. Ambrose Phillips De Lisle, a most ardent worker on behalf of his adopted faith, was received into it before even the very birth of the Oxford Movement. Father George Ignatius Spencer, of the Passionist Order, another most indefatigable worker on the Roman side, was received into that Church as early as 1830, and he had no connection with the Oxford Movement; with which Archdeacon Manning was so much out of sympathy that, when he called at Littlemore, Newman refused

[1] 'The reanimation of the Church of Rome in England was quickened in no small degree by the arrival of a divine, whose accomplishments and ability would have secured him influence and prominence in any age of the Roman Church' (Liddon).

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to see him, and he had to walk back disconsolately in the rain to Oxford. In the *Apologia* Newman never even mentions Manning's name. Father Dominic, like his fellow Passionist, Ignatius Spencer, a most energetic missionary, was an Italian, and had, of course, no connection with Oxford. Professor St. George Mivart, also, never went to Oxford, and Pugin was not a Tractarian.

That the influence of the Oxford Movement, in its early stages, on the Roman revival has, therefore, been considerably exaggerated, I am inclined stoutly to contend. The genesis of the Movement was marked, it must be remembered, by its strong anti-Roman spirit. The theory of a certain Protestant historian of the Movement, that from first to last it was nothing more in spirit and aim than a recruiting agency for Rome, is not supported by an examination of the facts of the case. The original Tractarians were, up to a point, as much opposed to Romanism as they were to Dissent, and when Father Ignatius Spencer visited Oxford in 1840, Newman was, in his own words, 'very rude' to him. Moreover, the pro-Roman spirit, after its development, was not absolutely sustained. Newman, Allies, Grant, Lockhart, Talbot, Faber, Macmullen, Stanton, Neville, Oakley, Dalgairns, Bowles, William Palmer (of Magdalen), Christie, Ward, Coffin, Morris, Coleridge, St. John, Kirwan

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Browne, Purbrick, Ryder, Bernard Smith, Estcourt, and Simpson, it is true, 'went over'; but Church, Pusey, Keble, Williams, Palmer, Bloxam,[1] and others stayed behind. W. E. Gladstone remained faithful to the English Church; Hurrell Froude died; and James Anthony Froude and Mark Pattison became Broad Churchmen. Again, the secession of some of these converts was practically no loss to the Establishment. The retention of such men as Faber and Ward in the Anglican ranks must have been productive, in the long run, of a ceaseless stream of angry controversies.

Newman's comparative failure, as a Roman Catholic, to fill as large a position as had been expected of him was due to several causes. In the first place, Edgbaston was hardly a suitable head-quarters for so intellectual a man. Had he been allowed, as he earnestly wished, to go with

[1] The Rev. J. R. Bloxam was Newman's curate at Littlemore. He spent the last twenty-five years of his life as Vicar of Upper Beeding, a pretty little Sussex village. A man of great learning, as well as of much charm of manner and geniality, the author of this book will never forget the happy hours spent in his company at Beeding Priory, where Bloxam was often visited by his life-long friend, Cardinal Newman. He was not the last of the 'Tractarians,' for he died over eleven years before Canon Bernard Smith, of meeting whom at his tiny little mission at Great Marlow the author has also many pleasant recollections; whilst Father Ignatius Grant, S.J., outlived even Bernard Smith.

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his Oratorians to Oxford, things might have been very different. It is not certain, either, that his joining the Oratory of St. Philip Neri was a wise choice. He might have done better as an ordinary secular priest. He had no wish, however, to attain episcopal rank. No adequate biography of Cardinal Newman, as a Roman Catholic, has yet been published,[1] and it seems doubtful whether one ever will be. Mr. Purcell's *Life of Cardinal Manning* revealed a great deal concerning the nature of the bad treatment received by the illustrious Oratorian from Archbishop's House; but not all. Purcell was prohibited from printing much additional matter that would have shown how cavalierly Newman was treated by Cardinal Manning, and by William George Ward. Speaking of Purcell's book, Mr. Joseph MacCabe (Father Anthony, O.S.F.), in his *Twelve Years in a Monastery*, says: 'It must not be imagined that the picture is at all complete, it is not by any means as darkly coloured as the reality. No Catholic could in conscience tell all that is handed down in clerical circles with regard to the relations of Manning, Newman, Ward, the Jesuits, etc. And although the author has made a generous concession in the

[1] Mr. Purcell wrote a Life of Newman, but the copies of his work were bought up, and destroyed, on the eve of publication.

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cause of historical truth, the public have not had the full benefit of his sincerity. If the book could have been published in its original form, it would have been much more interesting, but after spending, as it did, two years in purgatorial flames, we must take it *cum grano salis.* Some of my colleagues were intimate with the author's brother, and gave us continual reports of the painful progress of the work. . . . On the whole, the impression of those who seemed to be in the secrets was, that Newman had been treated by all parties in a manner that dare not be made public, and that there were documents kept back which would throw much discredit upon other prominent Catholics of the period.'

Reverting to the question of whether the original Tractarians were, from the beginning, consciously actuated by pro-Roman sympathies; I must repeat that J. H. Newman remained, till quite an advanced date in the early history of the Oxford Movement, hostile to Rome. In a letter, written on July 28, 1857, to Canon Flanagan, he said: 'I think it was Mr. Oakley's view that he might profess all Roman doctrine in the Church of England, or at least hold it—and consequently that the Thirty-nine Articles allowed of it. I never took this view. I knew that they bound me in various ways to oppose the Roman doctrines, and my conscience approved of this

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opposition—I mean, I thought ill of various tenets and principles of the Roman Church. Accordingly, in 1841, after "No. XC.," in a letter which the Bishop of Oxford required of me, I wrote with great violence against the doctrines received at Rome, and in her Communion.' I think we may safely assume that, up to the year 1841, Newman was determinedly hostile to Rome; that, from 1841 to 1843, his opinions slowly underwent a change; and that, from 1843 until his reception in 1845, he steadily grew more and more secretly attached to Roman Catholicism.

Of his reception into the Roman Catholic Communion, Newman's[1] own account is not too hackneyed for quotation here, since it explains how Father Dominic, mentioned above, found his way to Littlemore—

'One of my friends at Littlemore had been received into the Church on Michaelmas Day, at the Passionist house at Aston, near Stone, by Father Dominic, the Superior. At the beginning of October, the latter was passing through London to Belgium; and, as I was in some perplexity what steps to take for being received myself, I assented to the proposition made to me

[1] It is somewhat remarkable that both Newman and Manning were received into the Roman Church by members of Religious Orders: Newman by a Passionist, and Manning by a Jesuit (Father Brownbill).

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that the good priest should take Littlemore[1] in his way, with a view to his doing for me the same charitable service as he had done to my friend.

'On October 8 I wrote to a number of friends the following letter: "I am this night[2] expecting F. Dominic, the Passionist, who, from his youth, has been led to have distinct and direct thoughts, first of the countries of the north, then of England. After thirty years' (almost) waiting, he was without his own act sent here. But he has had little to do with conversions. I saw him here for a few minutes on St. John Baptist's Day, last year.

'"He is a simple, holy man; and withal gifted with remarkable powers. He does not know of my intention; but I mean to ask of him admission into the One Fold of Christ. . . . P.S. This will not go till all is over."'

One of the least pleasing features of Cardinal

[1] A village distant about two miles and a half from Oxford.

[2] A wet and stormy one. Father Dominic arrived with his clothes drenched through. Father Dominic was the son of Italian peasants. Having read much in his youth about 'Protestant England,' it had been the ambition of his life to work in it on behalf of Rome. After years of disappointment, he was, at last, allowed by his Order to come over. It is thought likely that he will, sooner or later, be 'canonized.' Father Dominic could speak little or no English, and his presence in this country was not popular with the 'old school' of Catholics.

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Newman's career was the manner in which he held strictly aloof from connecting himself with any great public charitable movement, or work. His teachings and inclinations were all dogmatic, and his strange hatred of, what he termed, Liberalism, led him to oppose several schemes of social reform. At the aims and efforts of the Temperance Movement he openly sneered, writing to his brother, the talented Professor F. W. Newman, 'As to what you tell me of Archbishop Manning, I have heard also that some of our Irish Bishops think that too many drink-shops are licensed. As for me, I do not know whether we have too many or too few!' Disgusted beyond measure at this avowal, Professor Newman showed his brother's letter to a friend, who aptly remarked, 'One would think he was living on a different planet!'

Professor Francis Newman lived, like his elder brother,[1] the Cardinal, to a great age,[2] dying in

[1] The Newman family was of mingled Dutch and Hebrew extraction. The Cardinal was only an Englishman insomuch as he was born and brought up in London. He had another brother, Charles. His mother was French.

[2] It is remarkable that a great many of those originally connected with the Oxford Movement lived to reach an advanced age; as, for example, Allies, Stanton, Lockhart, Grant, Pusey, Keble, Bloxam, Neville, J. A. Froude, Bernard Smith, Church, and the Newmans. Cardinal Manning, too, was an octogenarian, as was Thomas Mozley.

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1897, after having survived to publish his *Contributions Chiefly to the Early History of the Cardinal Newman*. He was a man of remarkable, though erratic ability. In his opinion the Cardinal was to blame for other deficiencies in character besides his lack of sympathy with social reform. It must be noted, however, that the Professor was considerably over eighty years of age when he published his critical memoir of the Cardinal, and it is possible that, in one or two respects, his memory may have played him false.

A fine memorial church has been erected at Edgbaston in honour of Newman, and the flourishing school there,[1] for the sons of gentlemen, established mainly by his exertions, occupies a high place amongst Roman Catholic educational establishments. At Brompton, a statue of the Cardinal —rejected by Oxford—has been erected close to the Oratory. Newman lies buried at Rednal,

[1] In his early days at Oxford, Newman little imagined that he would ever leave the University to establish a Roman Catholic School! In very beautiful language he even anticipated remaining at Oxford until death: 'I took leave of my first College, Trinity, which was so dear to me, and which held on its foundation so many who had been kind to me both when I was a boy and all through my Oxford life. Trinity had never been unkind to me. There used to be much snapdragon growing on the walls opposite my freshman's rooms there, and I had for years taken it as the emblem of my own perpetual residence even unto death in my University' (*Apologia pro Vita Sua*).

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Worcestershire, in the same grave as his dear friend, Ambrose St. John.[1]

[1] Lord Acton's opinion of Newman was, perhaps, the most correct. To Acton, Cardinal Newman seemed to be 'A sophist —the manipulator, not the servant of Truth.' Lord Acton was more complimentary than Carlyle, who satirized Newman as having 'no more intellect than a rabbit'! In Canon Meyrick's opinion, 'Newman was never guided by his reason, but always by his emotions.'

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CHAPTER IV

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HIERARCHY

ABOUT Michaelmas of the year 1850, the public mind of this country was suddenly thrown into a condition of clamour and confusion over what was commonly known as the 'Papal Aggression.' This agitation was due to the re-establishment, by Pope Pius IX., of a Roman Catholic Hierarchy in England and Wales, which were thereby mapped out into an arch-diocese and thirteen dioceses. So far as the geographical allotment was concerned, it was not a bad distribution, beyond the circumstance that it was somewhat unfair to put so much power into the hands of the single Archbishop. The arch-diocese (of Westminster) was arranged to include the counties of Middlesex, Essex, and Herts; the diocese of Birmingham, the counties of Warwickshire, Oxfordshire, Worcestershire, and Staffordshire; the diocese of Clifton, the counties of Somerset, Wilts, and Gloucestershire; the diocese of Hexham (changed, in 1861, to Hexham and

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Newcastle), the counties of Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, and Westmorland; the diocese of Leeds, the West Riding, and a part of York city; the diocese of Liverpool, parts of Lancashire, and the Isle of Man; the diocese of Middlesbrough the North and East Ridings, and the other part of the city of York; the diocese of Newport and Menevia,[1] the counties of Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, and all Wales; the diocese of Northamptonshire, the counties of Bucks, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Hunts, Suffolk, and Northamptonshire; the diocese of Nottingham, the counties of Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lincoln, Notts, and Rutland; the diocese of Plymouth, the counties of Devon, Cornwall, Dorset, and the Scilly Isles; the diocese of Salford, parts of Lancashire; the diocese of Portsmouth, the counties of Berkshire, Hants, the Isle of Wight, and the Channel Islands; the diocese of Shrewsbury, the counties of Cheshire and Shropshire; and the diocese of Southwark, the counties of Surrey, Kent, and Sussex. In March, 1878, the Hierarchy was re-established in Scotland.

It is somewhat difficult, at the present day, to

[1] In 1896, this was divided, into Newport, consisting of Glamorganshire, Monmouthshire, and Herefordshire; and Menevia, consisting of Wales as a Vicariate (excepting, of course, the county of Glamorgan).

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realize adequately how and why the restoration of a Roman Catholic Hierarchy created so much popular indignation. But most of the trouble was solely due to the utter want of tact displayed by Cardinal Wiseman, and by the Holy See. They had apparently no deliberate intention of hurting the feelings of the British people, and yet they adopted means which a little reflection would have told them must be followed by serious consequences. There was nothing startling in the mere fact of substituting new bishoprics for the old vicariates, but it should have been carried out in a more courteous and diplomatic manner. As Mr. Justin MacCarthy (himself a Roman Catholic) says, in his *Short History of Our Own Times:* 'The (public) anger was not against the giving of the new titles, but against the assumption of a new right to give titles representing territorial distinctions in this country; against the Pope's evident assumption that the change he was making was the natural result of an actual change in the national feeling of England.'

From the Papal point of view it was also a blunder to make Dr. Wiseman a Cardinal at this particular period: his creation should have been postponed for, at least, another two years.[1] It

[1] 'It was, I fear, and every one thinks, very ill-judged of Wiseman to return as Cardinal. It was enough for him to be Archbishop of Westminster. It was, I fancy, all his own doing,

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was true that there had been several English Cardinals since the Reformation, but none had resided in England since the death of Reginald Pole, in 1558. The post-Reformation English Cardinals, namely Allen, Howard, Henry Stewart, Weld, and Acton,[1] had all lived at Rome. Dr. Wiseman, however, was now appointed to live in London as Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. He had, hitherto, been Vicar of the London district, with the title of Bishop of Melipotamus *in partibus infidelium.*

By a great number, even, of the English Romanists themselves, the re-establishment of the Hierarchy, so far from being welcomed, was disliked, and the (then) Duke of Norfolk was so displeased, that he ceased to be a Roman Catholic, although he is said to have become reconciled to Romanism[2] again on his death-bed. For some weeks, the general indignation assumed such proportions, that it seemed likely the papal plans would be upset, and the bull revoked. But the agitation died away gradually; and Wiseman,

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for the Pope intended him to remain at Rome.' (Extract from a contemporary letter by Lord Shrewsbury, quoted by Purcell in his *Life* of A. P. de Lisle.)

[1] Cardinal Acton had, in 1846, strongly opposed the scheme, already proposed, for the re-establishment of the Hierarchy in England.

[2] By a priest, who was an undoubted Gallican.

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braving the storm with considerable courage and skill, by a diplomatic letter to the London Press succeeded in getting a fair hearing for himself. It was not, indeed, only against Rome that the clamour had been levelled, but against also the rising Ritualism in the Established Church. The stream of secessions from Oxford to Rome had awakened a profound distrust of the High Church clergy in the public mind, and in the action of the Holy See Protestants thought they discerned a logical sequel to the Oxford Movement. Lord John Russell, in his 'Durham Letter,' showed that he grasped the situation when he referred to the 'danger within the gates from the unworthy sons of the Church of England herself.' This letter, addressed to the Bishop of Durham, was dated from Downing Street on the fourth of November (1850). On the day following, the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, the 'feast of St. Guy' was celebrated with tumultuous demonstrations all over the country, effigies of Cardinal Wiseman and Pope Pius IX. being everywhere shouldered about and burnt.

By the re-establishment of the Hierarchy, on the lines adopted by Cardinal Wiseman, the English and Welsh Romanists were placed directly under the thraldom of the Holy See. The appointment of the Bishops was rendered entirely subservient to the approval of the Pope,

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and all the old Gallican theories as to self-government were speedily terminated. It was not surprising, therefore, that on Cardinal Wiseman's arrival in London from Rome, after his appointment as Archbishop of Westminster, he should have found himself greeted with protests, against the new state of things, coming from many influential members of his own Communion. A meeting was convened by the Roman Catholic gentry of Yorkshire in denunciation of the re-establishment of the Hierarchy. The Earl of Shrewsbury and the Lords Beaumont, Camoys, and Clifford, all Romanist Peers, strongly objected, in the most outspoken language, to the position taken up by Cardinal Wiseman, whilst the Duke of Norfolk, supporting them, wrote, 'I should think that many people must feel, as we do, that Ultramontane opinions are totally incompatible with allegiance to our Sovereign, and with our Constitution.' Lord John Russell complained, 'There is an assumption of power in all the documents which have come from Rome, a pretension to supremacy over the Realm of England, and a claim to sole and undivided sway, which is inconsistent with the Queen's supremacy, with the rights of our bishops and clergy, and with the spiritual independence of the Nation, as asserted even in Roman Catholic times.' *The Times* described the Papal policy as 'one of the grossest

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acts of folly and impertinence, which the Court of Rome has ventured to commit, since the Crown and People of England threw off its yoke.'

The Papal brief, authorizing the creation of the Hierarchy, reached England before Cardinal Wiseman had got back from Rome. Its receipt placed the Vicar-General of the London District, Dr. Whitty,[1] in a position of grave difficulty. He recognized, at once, the incomparable folly of the way in which it had been worded. It was dated October 7, 1850, 'Given out of the Flaminian Gate at Rome,' and was to be read publicly in all the chapels of the London District. It was not addressed, however, directly to the English Romanists, but to the English Nation generally, and announced audaciously that 'Your beloved country has received a place among the beautiful Churches which, properly constituted, form the splendid aggregate of Catholic communion; Catholic England has been restored to its orbit in the ecclesiastic firmament, from which its light had long been missing; and now begins anew its course of regular action round the centre of unity, the source of jurisdiction, of light, and of vigour.' No wonder that the perplexed Dr. Whitty was afraid to publish such an address. He was, nevertheless, forced either to break his

[1] Dr. Whitty afterwards entered the Society of Jesus (in 1856).

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orders, by not publishing it, or to incur the public wrath, by giving it out to his clergy to read to their flocks, as directed.[1] After much consideration, he determined to obey his orders, and give it out. The result was, that the whole country was plunged, *ipso facto*, into a state of anti-Roman agitation similar to that which had occurred at the time of the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, the Popish Plot, and during the Gordon Riots.

Although the agitation caused by this 'Papal Aggression' did not produce as lasting results[2] as had been confidently anticipated, still Cardinal Wiseman found himself practically severed thereby from all social life outside the narrow limits of his own Communion. Not only this, but to Roman Catholics all over the kingdom much misery was caused. Priests were no longer treated so courteously by their Protestant acquaintances; servants found much difficulty in getting situations in Protestant households; and the business of tradesmen suffered. In favour of the Papal plan for the re-establishing the Hierarchy, there would have been more to have been

[1] When Newman read out the Pastoral to his congregation, his face all the while is said to have been 'a study,' and his voice faltered at the words 'Flaminian Gate.'

[2] The Ecclesiastical Titles Act, the outcome of the agitation, passed in 1851, was repealed twenty years later. It had never been put into force.

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said, had only it been more fairly and less ostentatiously carried out. The old Districts needed reconstruction, they were too few and too large, but it would have been easy to have created new Districts, with Bishops *in partibus*, or Vicars-Apostolic at their head, all under the control of an Archbishop resident in London. Dr. Wiseman could have acted as such a Primate, and the obnoxious title of Cardinal need not have been given him until the whole scheme had settled down into peaceful operation. Instead of this, with a loud blast of trumpets and beating of drums, England and Wales were partitioned out into Roman dioceses, by the orders of the Bishop of Rome, as if no such Church as that of the Establishment were in existence, whilst the tone adopted by Wiseman and the Pope, in their documents relating to the creation of this new Episcopacy, read more like that of a Napoleon addressing a conquered nation than that of men to whom all jurisdiction in this country was forbidden by law.

In dealing with Scotland, in which the old Gallican spirit was still extremely strong,[1] the Holy See went to work with the exercise of much greater caution and deliberation. North of the Tweed, the Hierarchy was not restored

[1] Gallicanism had also been the dominant factor in Ireland until the establishment of the Maynooth Seminary.

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until more than twenty-seven years had elapsed since the elevation of Nicholas Wiseman to the Archbishopric of Westminster. In 1878, Scotland was divided into the arch-dioceses of Glasgow, and St. Andrews and Edinburgh; with the dioceses of Aberdeen, Galloway, Dunkeld, and Argyll and the Isles. That Scotland should, in the first place, have been granted two arch-dioceses, and England (with Wales) only one, was an absurd arrangement, when the census of the Roman Catholic population of one country is compared with that of the other.

As I have said, Dr. Wiseman's mistake in accepting a Cardinal's hat was attended with awkward results. The title of Cardinal had never been popular in England, not even in pre-Reformation days, and the circumstance of Wiseman coming to reside in London was regarded as a national insult. Dr. Wiseman was about the thirtieth Englishman[1] to be created a Cardinal. His predecessors were Robert Pulleyn; Nicholas Brakespear, an Augustinian, created Pope under the title of

[1] I exclude all Irish, Scottish, and Colonial Cardinals. Mr. Purcell makes the extraordinary error of describing Henry Edward Manning as the 'second English Cardinal since the Reformation'; as a matter of fact, Archbishop Manning was the ninth Englishman to be created a Cardinal since the Reformation (excluding Dr. Lingard, said to have been a Cardinal *in petto*).

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Adrian IV.; Boso Brakespear, his nephew, a Benedictine Monk; Stephen Langton; Robert Curzon; Robert Somercote; Robert Kilwardby, a Dominican Friar; Hugh of Evesham; Walter Winterbourne, a Dominican Friar; Thomas Joyce, a Dominican Friar; Simon Langham, a Benedictine Monk; Adam Eyston, a Benedictine Monk; Philip Repyngdon, a Canon Regular; Thomas Langley; Robert Hallam (an undoubted Gallican); Henry Beaufort, son of John of Gaunt; John Kempe; Thomas Bourchier; John Morton, Lord Chancellor; Christopher Bainbridge; Thomas Wolsey; John Fisher; Reginald Pole; William Peyto, an Observant Friar; William Allen, the faithful friend of the Jesuits; Philip Thomas Howard, a Dominican Friar; Henry Benedict Maria Clement Stewart, called 'Henry IX.' by his friends; Thomas Weld; and Charles Januarius Edward Acton. Of these 'Princes of the Church,' it will be noticed that no fewer than ten sprang from the ranks of the regular clergy. Since Cardinal Wiseman's death, down to that of Queen Victoria, the following Englishmen also have been made members of the Sacred College: Henry Edward Manning, a Cardinal-Priest; Edward Henry Howard, a Cardinal-Bishop;[1] John Henry New-

[1] Cardinal Howard died at Patcham, Brighton, in 1892. He was buried at Arundel.

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man, a Cardinal-Deacon ; and Herbert Vaughan, a Cardinal-Priest. Only one English Cardinal has ever become Pope, although two others have been very near to climbing into Peter's Chair. Reginald Pole, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, was, indeed, actually elected by the requisite majority of the votes, but was discarded on the grounds of his not being sufficiently orthodox.[1] Cardinal Wolsey, also, was on two occasions very nearly becoming Pope. But, since Reginald Pole's day, no Englishman has ever been mentioned as a likely candidate for the Papacy. Italian after Italian has worn the triple crown. Since the restoration of the Hierarchy in 1850, but few of the English Romanist Bishops have been men of any marked ability; the most notable of whom have been Grant (Southwark), Ullathorne (Birmingham), Errington (Plymouth and Westminster), Clifford (Clifton), and Hedley (Newport).

[1] There is something almost comic in the fact of Cardinal Pole, Queen Mary Tudor's rigid Archbishop of Canterbury, and Papal Legate, being accused of heresy! Yet, this was not the only instance of his being thus accused, for he actually died under the Pope's displeasure, on account of his alleged unsoundness of doctrine. The Pope, indeed, had deprived him of his office of Legate, and recalled him to Rome, a summons which, with Mary's support, he declined to obey. Father Peyto, a very old man, was made a Cardinal in order that he might prove a rival to Pole, and for no other reason.

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Of these prelates Dr. Ullathorne made the greatest mark in English public life. Born in 1806, William Bernard Ullathorne was, as a lad, a sailor for a few years, and then turning his attention to religion, entered the Benedictine Order, and became a priest. From 1832 to 1841 he was employed on the Australasian Mission, where he was more than once offered, but always refused, a bishopric. In 1845, he was appointed Vicar of the Midland District, and from 1848 to 1850 took a leading and successful part in the negotiations at Rome, which led up to the re-establishment of the Hierarchy in England. In 1869–1870 he was present at the Vatican Council. On retiring, owing to advanced age, from Birmingham, he was created a titular archbishop. He died in 1889, in his eighty-third year. On his return from Australia, Ullathorne did much good work in protesting against the evils of the system of transportation obtaining at the period. Although believing in the Infallibility of the Pope, he opposed the definition of the dogma in 1870, on the grounds that it was inexpedient to define it, at any rate, for a long time to come. In the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, he was a firm believer, and wrote a treatise in defence and explanation of it. Whilst Bishop of Birmingham, he remained on friendly terms with Newman, who much admired him, although he found it

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no easy task to keep the peace always between the famous Oratorian and his Ultramontane assailants.

Robert Aston Coffin, Bishop of Southwark, and a member of the Redemptorist Order, was a pervert. Born at Brighton in 1819, he was educated at Harrow, and Christ Church, Oxford. After taking orders in the Church of England, he 'went over' and joined the Oratorians, but soon left them for the stricter rule of the Redemptorists. He was made Bishop of Southwark in 1882, but died three years later. The Hon. W. T. H. Clifford, Bishop of Clifton, a member of the noble family of Clifford, of Chudleigh, was an English Roman Catholic of the 'old school.' After the death of Cardinal Wiseman, he was considered likely to be elected to the vacant primacy, but his close friendship with Archbishop Errington did not tend to strengthen his chances. He was present at the Vatican Council, where he stoutly opposed the definition of the doctrine of the Infallibility of the Pope. He died in 1893, thirteen years after the learned and pious Thomas Grant, the first Bishop of Southwark.

Dr. Grant, prior to being elected Bishop, had been secretary to Cardinal Acton, and had afterwards acted as Dr. Ullathorne's ablest assistant during the negotiations at Rome leading up to the re-establishment of the Hierarchy. Later on,

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he became very hostile to Cardinal Wiseman. He visited Rome, again, to attend the Vatican Council, but died shortly before its conclusion. On receiving the news of his death, Pius IX. is reported to have exclaimed, 'Another Saint has gone to Heaven!' With Dr. George Errington, Bishop of Plymouth, and sometime Coadjutor-Archbishop of Westminster, we shall deal in the next chapter. Dr. Hedley, Bishop of Newport, a Benedictine monk, has deservedly achieved fame both as a preacher and scholar.

Before concluding this account of the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in Great Britain, it will be interesting to compare the figures in regard to the present number of the Roman Catholic Missions in England with those totalling the number of the missions existing after Wiseman's scheme had been matured. It will be interesting also to note the great increase in the number of the missions, priests, and monasteries since the expulsion of the Religious Orders from France, and their subsequent invasion of England. For these purposes I have selected the years 1851, 1899, and 1905 as test dates—1851 because it was the year following the settlement of Wiseman's re-establishment; 1899 because the immigration of the foreign monks commenced in or about that year; and 1905 because the

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immigration had by then, I suppose, reached its zenith. The following are the statistics—

PRIESTS

In 1851.	In 1899.	In 1905.
958	3235	3818

CHURCHES AND CHAPELS

In 1851.	In 1899.	In 1905.
683	1854	2008

MONASTERIES

In 1851.	In 1899.	In 1905.
17	260	303

CONVERTS

In 1851.	In 1899.	In 1905.
53	557	751

In comparing, finally, the state of affairs existing at the period of the 'Papal Aggression' with that existing midway between 1829, the era of Emancipation, and 1850, the date of the re-establishment, I may mention that in the year 1842

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there were only three Roman Catholic religious houses for men, and only twenty for women, to be found throughout the whole of Great Britain. In 1830, the total number of Roman Catholic churches and chapels in all London only amounted to about fourteen in number; whilst some three or four of these were mere rooms, and in this total of fourteen I have included the chapels of the French, Sardinian, Spanish, and Bavarian Embassies.

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CHAPTER V

THE ERRINGTON CASE

NICHOLAS PATRICK STEPHEN WISEMAN, the 'Bishop Blougram' of Browning's verse, was born at Seville, in Spain, 1802. The street in which his birth-place stood has since been renamed in his honour. He was descended from a family which had gone over from England to settle in Ireland, and later on in Spain. His mother was an Irish lady. After receiving a good education in England,[1] Wiseman's first laurels were won at Rome, where he became Professor of Oriental Languages, and Rector of the English College. Sent eventually to England, he served as Vicar-Apostolic of two of the Districts, prior to being nominated Archbishop of Westminster. In placing Cardinal Wiseman in supreme charge of the English Mission, there can be no doubt that Pope Pius IX., advised by Cardinal Barnabò, exercised a most judicious

[1] At Ushaw, where he was under the charge of Lingard, the historian, and where he once met Dr. Milner.

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choice, since in point of ability[1] the ex-Professor stood out head and shoulders above all his colleagues. His very enemies never questioned this, for his talents were fully recognized and admired by all who came in touch with him. Unlike most of the Roman Catholic clergy of his day, he was not afraid of the advances daily being made in scientific research, and in his lectures on geology he claimed that his Church had nothing to fear from the revelation of the latest of the earth's secrets.

A gentleman by birth, a lover of hospitality, and a kind-hearted man, Cardinal Wiseman's London career should, under ordinary circumstances, have been both a prosperous and a pleasant one. Had he lived at the present day, this would certainly have been the case, and the author of *Fabiola* would have been justly regarded as one of the ablest men of his time. But, during his fifteen years at Westminster, he was destined to pass through so stormy a period that his principal occupation seems to have been participating either in his own or in other people's quarrels. From the first days of his appointment until the end of his life, he was exposed to a

[1] 'Which of the Oxford converts, with the exception of Newman, can be compared with Wiseman for breadth of intellect; for profound biblical scholarship; for varied learning?' etc. (Purcell).

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succession of troubles which allowed him no opportunity to rest. Before even he became Archbishop, when he was Vicar of the London District, his taking up his residence in the metropolis had been a signal for attack upon him by some of the Gallican clergy strongly opposed to his Ultramontane policy.[1]

In 1855, it was thought necessary that Cardinal Wiseman, whose health was none too good, should receive the help of a Coadjutor, by whom he would be relieved of some of the heavier duties accumulating so rapidly in the arch-diocese. The Coadjutor—and this is an important point—was to succeed Wiseman (as Archbishop of Westminster) should the latter's health necessitate his retirement, or in the event of his death. The candidate selected to become the Coadjutor-Archbishop was Dr. George Errington, Bishop of Plymouth, a man whose great energy and unflinching devotion to diocesan work afterwards won for him

[1] Mr. Richard Boyle, one of these clergy, actually sued Cardinal Wiseman for libel, and (very properly) obtained £1000 damages against him at law. This priest's action, too, was by no means unsupported by his colleagues, the majority of whom were most hostile to Wiseman and his pro-Roman policy. A perusal of the official account of the trial shows how strongly many influential Romanists were then opposed to Ultramontanism. The damages (£1000) were eventually somewhat reduced, on appeal, but the Cardinal, beyond doubt, had behaved very badly.

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the title of the 'Iron Archbishop.' From this appointment dated the commencement of that unfortunate episode, in the history of Roman Catholicism in England, which is generally known as the 'Errington Case,' and which was destined to cause Cardinal Wiseman ceaseless anxiety and annoyance.

Archbishop Errington was an ecclesiastic of so utterly dissimilar character from his old schoolfellow, Wiseman, that it soon became manifest how many and how formidable were the obstacles lying in the way of their working well together. A man of unquestionable integrity, Errington was, nevertheless, a disciplinarian of a most severe type. Canon law was the controlling spirit of his career, and he carried out its rules regardless either of circumstances or persons. Like a doctor who would rather see one of his patients die under orthodox professional treatment than have him saved by the aid of a quack, Errington obeyed the dictates of canon law with undeviating fidelity to its text. Such a man was unlikely to remain long in accord with the unbusiness-like Wiseman. It is probable, nevertheless, that Errington would have continued to the end to remain Coadjutor had it not been for the intervention of a third party in the case. This person was a convert—Monsignor Manning.

Formerly Archdeacon of Chichester, Manning

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had, at the period of which we speak, been so recently ordained a Roman Catholic priest, and had been ordained at so brief an interval after his reception into the Church of Rome,[1] that the powerful position into which he had climbed in the arch-diocese was productive of no little jealousy on the part of his colleagues. He was Provost of the Chapter, the members of which nearly all disliked him, as did Canon Searle, Cardinal Wiseman's secretary. On returning from a visit to Rome, undertaken after his reception at the Jesuit's Church, Farm Street, London, Manning had established, in Bayswater, a branch of the community of the Oblates of St. Carlo Borromeo,[2] and it was in regard to the work and privileges of these Oblates that Dr. Errington and he first came into collision. Into the rights and wrongs of this dispute it is unnecessary to enter here in detail. Wiseman and Errington soon were, also, themselves at loggerheads on this and on other matters. In the battle which took place, Wiseman and Manning joined forces, whilst

[1] After he had actually been ordained, the *Tablet* sarcastically announced that it was 'Mr. Manning's intention to visit Rome in the autumn for the purpose of *commencing* his theological studies'!

[2] The Oblates of the Blessed Virgin and St. Ambrose, founded at Milan by St. Carlo Borromeo in the year 1578. Manning, however, as Errington justly complained, did not adhere to the strict rules of the Order.

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Dr. Errington was supported by the majority of the English Bishops, the clergy of the archdiocese, and the Chapter. The merits of the subject originally at issue came to be lost sight of, when the contending parties were seen to consist of sides representing, respectively, the convert school, supported by the Ultramontane Wiseman, and the old school of English Romanists, who were jealous and suspicious of Manning and the Oxford men.

The contest was desperate and prolonged. Dr. Errington refused, *ab initio*, to make any concession, or admit himself to be guilty of any of the charges alleged against him. There was ultimately, therefore, no alternative but to appeal to Rome. In this proceeding, curiously enough, the 'new' men held an advantage over the 'old.' Manning already had been favourably received and noticed by the Pope, whilst Monsignor Talbot,[1] the only Englishman on terms of real intimacy with Pius IX., was so friendly inclined towards Manning, that he never ceased to sound the ex-Archdeacon's praises in his patron's ear. Cardinal Wiseman, also, was a *persona grata* at the Vatican, where Errington, and the Bishops supporting him, were thought to be tainted with Gallicanism. But, Errington had something in reserve. He had

[1] The Hon. George Talbot, son of Lord Talbot de Malahide. He had once been an Anglican clergyman.

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been appointed, it will be remembered, as Co-adjutor to Wiseman, with right of succession. This meant, therefore, that at the Cardinal's death Errington would succeed Wiseman, with a free hand almost to act as he liked, and he would then be in a position to make short work of Monsignor Manning and the obnoxious Oblates. Wiseman's health, too, was rapidly getting worse, as the struggle went; so that Errington appeared unlikely to have to wait very long before proving victorious in the end.

Realizing fully the strength of Errington's position, his opponents endeavoured to induce him to resign, conditional on his being offered another bishopric, or archbishopric, in lieu of his coadjutorship at Westminster. But, resign Errington would not; and he contended, very truly, that he had been guilty of no personal misconduct, or of any offence within the range of canon law; that he had been quite justified in objecting to the appointment of such a person as the fanatical W. G. Ward to the professorship of dogmatic theology at St. Edmund's College;[1] that he had worked extremely hard in London, whither he had been summoned from Plymouth

[1] For making this appointment, Cardinal Wiseman was entirely responsible. Ward was a layman, and a rabid Ultramontane. He was a very indifferent lecturer, and resigned his post in six years' time.

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against his wishes; that, on taking up his post at Westminster, he had soon asked to be relieved of it, but permission was then refused him; and that he was being made the victim of a conspiracy concocted against him by a subordinate priest, whose Oblates were carrying on a work which interfered with that of the secular clergy. Finally, he challenged his opponents to show any valid reason why his right of succession should be revoked. Eventually, after matters had been gone into at Rome, where Errington's cause was personally supported by the Bishops of Birmingham, Southwark, Clifton, Shrewsbury, and Liverpool, a verdict was given against him, and a great victory was gained by Cardinal Wiseman and the Ultramontanes. Errington was practically forced to resign, and his doing so was blasphemously described by the Pope as a '*Coup d'état* of the Lord God'!

That Archbishop Errington was, on the whole, treated with distinct injustice cannot be denied, and there is a great deal to be said in support of Mr. Purcell's very deliberate opinion that, but for Archbishop Manning,[1] there would have

[1] Mr. Gladstone, in referring to another episode in Cardinal Manning's career, once remarked, 'I will not say that Manning was insincere, God forbid! But he was not simple and straightforward.' On another occasion, Gladstone is said to have stated that Cardinal Manning was beyond doubt insincere, and ery insincere into the bargain.

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been no 'Errington Case.' It was hard lines, that Dr. Errington, a member of an old Catholic family, and a priest of great experience, should have to submit to the dictates of an ex-Archdeacon, who had only recently joined the Roman Church. His energy and business-like methods were infinitely preferable to the careless habits of the Cardinal, who had behaved, also, in a very Jesuitical manner in regard to the appointment of W. G. Ward to St. Edmund's College, Ware. Against Dr. Errington, however, it must be admitted that he was much wanting in discretion and tact, and that he tried to rule the arch-diocese on very hard and narrow lines. It was not for nothing that he had won the title of the 'Iron Archbishop.' But, although defeated, Errington was not yet absolutely vanquished, for he was still to figure in one more fight. At Wiseman's death there arose the vital question as to his successor, and, during the interregnum, Dr. Errington was once again to the front.

After his enforced resignation from Westminster, Dr. Errington had refused to accept another post, and his episcopal career seemed to all intents and purposes to have come to an end. To appoint him to succeed Wiseman would seem comparable to the case of a colonel, who, after acting as second-in-command of his regiment, and having been dismissed from his command and

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from his regiment, after a trial by court-martial, should eventually be reappointed to the supreme command. The authorities at Rome naturally never expected that Dr. Errington's name would be one of the three on the list, officially selected and forwarded from England, from which Propaganda should choose Cardinal Wiseman's successor. But it was; and not only that, but Errington's name was first on the list, with two of his supporters nominated as the second and the third. Enraged beyond measure at this unexpected proceeding, the Pope refused to allow Archbishop Errington's candidature even to be considered, whilst he also refused eventually to approve of the claims of the other two bishops. Finally, the candidate chosen to succeed Cardinal Wiseman, as the Pope's special selection, was (to the consternation of the 'old school') none other than the hated convert Monsignor Manning himself—the *fons et origo mali*, as he was regarded by many.[1]

Monsignor Manning's appointment put an end to the famous 'Errington Case.' For a few weeks—a very few—indeed, it appeared as if a schism was going to take place in England, so angry were the majority of Romanists at Manning becoming Archbishop. But the agitation died sullenly away, and the new Primate was enthroned

[1] *Punch*, referring to the appointment at the time, remarked 'The Bark of Peter wants Manning!'

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with all the usual rites in the presence of a crowded, although not enthusiastic or sympathetic congregation.[1] After being less than fifteen years a Roman Catholic, therefore, Dr. Manning suddenly found himself Archbishop of Westminster, and the victor in a hard-fought fight, during which he had lived to triumph over all his formidable foes both in London and in Rome. His victory over Errington had been complete. But, whatever may be said against Dr. Errington's conduct as Coadjutor-Archbishop, no two opinions can be held as to the exemplary manner in which he behaved after his final discomfiture. He loyally accepted the disagreeable situation, and after presiding over the Missions in the Isle of Man, and after later occupying a very similar post in Scotland, he accepted a small professorship at Prior Park, Bath, where he died on January 19, 1886, aged eighty-one. After retiring from Westminster, he had been offered, but declined, the Archbishopric of Trinidad. His residence at Prior Park was undertaken at the suggestion of Dr. Clifford, Bishop of Clifton, his intimate friend, with whom he returned from Rome, after attend-

[1] By the 'Convert School,' however, Manning's promotion was received with demonstrations of delight. On the news reaching W. G. Ward, he and his household gave way to such noisy applause, that the neighbours sent in to inquire what was the matter.

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ing the Vatican Council, in 1870.[1] His death attracted very little public attention, and the 'Obituary' published in *The Times* consisted only of a very few lines, in which no mention was made of the 'Errington Case.'

That Manning, in carrying on his campaign against Archbishop Errington, had been actuated by conscientious, if mistaken motives, must, I think, be admitted. He seems, influenced by his staunch Ultramontane opinions, to have looked upon Errington, as he soon afterwards looked upon Newman, as an enemy to the Holy See, and as one, therefore, whose removal from high office was imperative in the interests of the Roman Catholic Church. That he was greatly aided in his victory by Monsignor George Talbot's services at Rome cannot be questioned, for it was Talbot's habit of constantly singing Manning's praises at the Vatican that was one of the chief factors in winning for him the vacant Primacy. In Manning, Talbot recognized a kindred spirit that would strive to the utmost to bind together Roman Catholic England and the Holy See, and that would wage war in-

[1] 'Dr. Errington, after passing an edifying life in peace and silence, died in the year 1886. He nursed no resentment in his heart. He did not even attempt to vindicate his ways or tell his own story. His tongue left no sting or stain behind' (Purcell).

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cessantly on Gallicanism in any shape or form. Talbot's own views of the duties of the laity were Ultramontane in the extreme. He looked upon Wiseman's policy as a second edition of Bishop Milner's, and Manning he selected as the most suitable person to carry on their work. Talbot's later career was shrouded in gloom. He began to suffer from a mental illness, which completely incapacitated him, and he died eventually in a private asylum in the suburbs of Paris —Rome forgetting, and by Rome forgot!

In reverting once more to Cardinal Wiseman's progressive policy, I must not omit reference to the return to England, under his influence and direction, of the Religious Orders. Finding that there were not enough Secular priests in the archdiocese, Wiseman invited the aid of Regulars from abroad. But he was, on the whole, much disappointed with the work of the monks and friars whom he brought over. Their laziness and ineptitude deeply distressed him, and he was unable to get them to undertake any ordinary parochial duties. In a letter to Father Faber, dated October 27, 1852, we find him commenting with bitter scorn upon the shameless conduct of these Regular priests, for whom he had done so much, but who had done so little for him. 'When I first came to London,' wrote the Cardinal, 'there was not a single community

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of men. There were two Jesuits living *en garçon* in a house, that was all.' He then went on to illustrate how greatly things had changed since that time, instancing the positions of the Jesuits, Redemptorists, Marists, Passionists, and Oratorians, all of whom had settled in or near London, by his permission, and with his aid. It was due, indeed, to his patronage of the Jesuits that they had been able to recover so much of their lost ground, for desperate efforts had been made by the Secular clergy to prevent them settling in London, and in Liverpool. Of the Jesuits in London, Cardinal Wiseman wrote: 'They have a splendid church, a large house, several priests,' etc., but they will do no parochial work. 'Hence we have under them only a church, which by its splendour attracts and absorbs the wealth of two parishes, but maintains no schools, and contributes nothing to the poor at its very door. I could say much more, but I forbear.'

With the Redemptorists, he had very similar faults to find. (This Order soon after achieved an unpleasant notoriety, owing to its figuring in the law-courts in the celebrated case known as that of the 'Clapham Bells.')

Of the Passionists, whom he himself had brought to England, he complained: 'They have never done me a stroke of work among the poor, and if I want a mission from them, the local house is of no use.'

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Of the Marists, his account was a little more encouraging, but of the wealthy Oratorians his report was scathing. To all his appeals for help from them, Father Faber had given the ridiculous reply, 'Others hunt, but we must stay at home, and fish!'

Much as Cardinal Wiseman deserved sympathy on account of the ingratitude and apathy of the Regulars, it must be allowed that he was to blame for not taking into consideration, when he imported them, the fact that they were unlikely to deviate an inch from their monotonous rule in order to help the Secular priests.[1] The attitude of the Regulars was, nevertheless, more favourable by far towards Wiseman than it ever was towards Dr. Errington, for they knew very well that, in the event of the Archbishop succeeding the Cardinal, they would be forced to lead more active lives. The Dominicans, Oratorians, and Redemptorists, especially dreaded Errington's succession; and the 'Iron Archbishop' would have made very short work of Father Faber, and his fishing. Much of the opposition to Dr. Errington was undoubtedly manufactured by the Regulars, and Faber incautiously admitted, that 'If Dr.

[1] 'Souls are perishing,' said Wiseman, 'around them (the Regulars), but they are prevented by their rules, given by Saints, from helping to save them, at least in any but a particular and definite way.'

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Errington returns to Westminster, as Archbishop, the Holy See will have to reckon it will take fifty, if not one hundred years, to restore England to the pitch of Ultramontanism which she has now reached!' This candid confession throws considerable light on the inner history of the 'Errington Case.'

In continuing further this brief sketch of Nicholas Wiseman's career as Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster, one cannot but refer, as exemplifying his extreme Ultramontanism, to the unpleasant episode of his quarrel with the French Legitimists, resident in London during the reign of Napoleon III. With these gentlemen, Cardinal Wiseman chose to quarrel, because they refused, very naturally, to entertain the same opinions of the 'Man of Destiny' as he did. At the end of High Mass on Sundays, it was their custom to offer up the usual prayer to God to save the King (*Regem*), without, of course, mentioning the Emperor (*Imperatorem*). Cardinal Wiseman, on hearing this, resolved to affront them publicly, and invited himself to Mass at their chapel, where he himself insisted on repeating the loyal prayers, and bawled out the word *Imperatorem*, in substitution for *Regem*. Not content with this, at a private reception held later on the same day, on hearing some of the Legitimists conversing in their native tongue, he

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went up to them and rudely exclaimed, 'One hears nothing but French spoken in this room.' This boorish behaviour on 'Bishop Blougram's' part was as ungrateful as it was spiteful, when it is considered what priceless services had been rendered to Rome in England by the French emigrant royalists. After the Revolution of the eighteenth century, their coming over in large numbers had swelled the ranks of their co-religionists on this side of the Channel to a very large extent; and as they were allowed every liberty in regard to the exercise of their religion, it gradually came to pass that the same privilege was granted to British Roman Catholics as well. During the dark days of the penal laws, moreover, the French Ambassadors in London had always placed their private chapel at the disposal of the 'Recusants,' and their house was often a convenient shelter for priests, in danger of their liberty or life, to hide in. Wiseman's reasons for attacking the Legitimists were, that they were generally held to be Gallicans, whilst Louis Napoleon was the most puissant supporter of the Temporal Power of the Pope. His successor, Cardinal Manning, also based his support of the French Emperor on the same grounds, and gave much offence, subsequently, by the extravagant manner in which he insisted on Masses being said, in the churches of the arch-diocese, for the

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repose of the soul of the unfortunate Prince Imperial, slain in Zululand; whilst, at the same time, with complete inconsistency, he refused to allow Mass to be said for Prince Charles Edward Stewart, on the celebration of the centenary of his death, in 1888.

Cardinal Wiseman died at 8, York Place, Marylebone, on February 15, 1865. His public funeral was made the subject of a very sympathetic demonstration, bearing ample and appreciative evidence of the external progress newly accomplished by Rome in England since the disastrous autumn of 1850. The last two or three years of his life, when his health, never robust, was steadily failing, were embittered by the constant domestic troubles disturbing his own household, occasioned chiefly by the hatred for Monsignor Manning entertained by Canon Searle (the Cardinal's secretary) and others. With several of his Bishops, also, Wiseman was on by no means good terms. The 'Errington Case' had left lasting results behind it, and the end of the Cardinal's career was passed in pathetic isolation. Of his literary remains, the books which have obtained the widest measure of popularity are his beautiful *Fabiola*, a story of Roman life in the days of the Cæsars[1]—a work which is undoubtedly superior

[1] A witty Bishop described *Fabiola* as 'a good book, with the popularity of a bad one.'

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to Newman's *Callista*—and his *Recollections of the Last Four Popes*, the historical value of which, although embellished by the fine literary style in which it is written, is marred by the weight of the excessive eulogies that the writer has heaped upon the characters of all these Pontiffs and most of their attendant Cardinals, whilst no allusion is made to the shocking condition of Rome and the Papal States at the time.

Finally, in summing up what has been presented above concerning the ups-and-downs of Cardinal Wiseman's career as Archbishop of Westminster, it is, I fear, very difficult to avoid coming to the regretful conclusion that many of his difficulties and troubles were of his own making. It seems a hard thing to say, but it is, nevertheless, evident, that in many important crises of his life, the Cardinal did not act so sincerely as he ought to have. Mr. Gladstone hesitated whether he should describe Manning as 'insincere,' or whether he should simply dub him 'not straightforward.' Of Wiseman he could hardly, if called upon, have refrained from using such a word as insincere in criticism of certain of his actions. Cardinal Wiseman, for instance, behaved with decided duplicity over the appointment of Dr. W. G. Ward as Professor at St. Edmund's College, Ware. After giving Dr. Errington, at an interview, to understand that Ward's appointment was

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cancelled, he suddenly went back on his word, when there was no time left for further conversation. In the Boyle case, after having written in a magazine article gross reflections on this priest's character, which were proved to be absolutely untrue, he declined to give him any clerical redress, and did his best to avoid paying him pecuniary compensation until obliged to do so at law. Even his witnesses behaved in court in a very evasive and shuffling manner, obeying, presumably, the Cardinal's directions. Again, in the Achilli case, he paid no attention for some time to Newman's letters asking that the all-important papers might be sought for and delivered; when he did answer the letters, and commence the search, it was too late.[1] Throughout the whole of the Errington

[1] In a letter written to Father Whitty, March 19, 1865, Newman sums up concisely the chief details of his ill-treatment at the hands of Cardinal Wiseman (and Manning). I quote the following extract from the letter: 'When the Holy Father wished me to begin the Dublin Catholic University, I did so at once. When the Synod of Oscott gave me to do the new translation of scripture, I began it without a word. When the Cardinal (Wiseman) asked me to interfere in the matter of the *Rambler*, I took on myself, to my sore disgust, a great trouble and trial. Lastly, when my Bishop (Ullathorne), *proprio motu*, asked me to undertake the mission at Oxford, I committed myself to a very expensive purchase of land. . . . In all these matters I think (in spite of many incidental mistakes) I should, on the whole, have done a work, had I been allowed or aided to go on with them. . . . If I could get out of my mind the notion that I could do something and am not doing it, nothing could be happier.' . . .

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case, too, his proceedings were marked by a distinct want of candour, integrity, and straightforwardness. They were, indeed, harsh, furtive, and malicious. Cardinal Wiseman's training at Rome, probably, had much to do with leading him to adopt such tortuous courses in pursuing his conduct of English affairs. His Roman training had taught him, his opponents declared, to look upon the Pope as a kind of 'Grand Llama,' and Wiseman's Ultramontane policy often went by the name of 'Grand Llamaism.'

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CHAPTER VI

ENGLAND AND THE VATICAN COUNCIL

THE year of our Lord 1870 will for ever remain a memorable date in the history of modern Europe, since during it occurred three specially important political events, namely, the Franco-German war, the Vatican Council, and the establishment of a United Italy under a Monarchy. In 1870 the Temporal Government of the Popes, which had existed for so many centuries, came to a timely end, and an enlightened Italy, freed at last from the intolerable burden of priestly despotism, rose rapidly to the position of a first-class Power. Our concern here is, however, not with the fall of the Papal sovereignty, or with the ruin of the Napoleonic empire, but merely with the work accomplished by the Vatican Council, that is to say, the definition of the dogma of the Infallibility of the Pope.

Until the conclusion of the sittings of the great Œcumenical Council, assembled at the Vatican (1869–1870),[1] the doctrine of the Papal Infallibility

[1] December, 1869, to July, 1870. The Council was prorogued, but not then dissolved. Cardinal Manning's statement

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had not been included among those Articles of Faith which every Roman Catholic is bound, or supposed, implicitly to believe. Henceforth, by the decision of the Council, or rather by the decision of a certain majority of its members, it was decreed that, when speaking *ex cathedra*, the Bishop of Rome is, by the co-operation of the Holy Ghost, Infallible in regard to the substance of all his utterances on any subject connected with either faith or morals. But, not contented with arranging for the present and the future, the Vatican Council claimed to speak also for the past, and it solemnly declared that all the Popes had ever been similarly Infallible.

That such a new departure as this amazing dogma, utterly opposed, as it is, to all the teachings of history and theology, to all the dictates of reason, and to all the principles of science,[1] would not be defined without encountering the keenest opposition, was apparent from the first, and it was only by resorting to very discreditable stratagems that the Papal agents succeeded in constraining a

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that the Council was not summoned, in the first place, with the object of defining the Infallibility, but for discussing other matters, cannot be accepted as correct. As early as the year 1865, the whole scheme for the definition had been devised at the Vatican.

[1] 'As a Christian, as a Theologian, as an Historian, as a Citizen, I cannot accept this doctrine' (Dr. Döllinger).

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majority of the members of the Council to declare in favour of Infallibility. So far as England was concerned, the greater number of responsible Romanists were opposed to the dogma. Many of them lacked, nevertheless, sufficient moral courage to express their candid opinions on the matter. They took refuge in the subterfuge that, although they did not doubt the Pope was infallible, they thought the present definition of the dogma to be inexpedient and inopportune. Among these 'Inopportunists' was Newman, who was forbidden to go to Rome to attend the Council. Ranged on the opposite side was Archbishop Manning,[1] who strained every nerve to forward a decisive definition of the dogma, acting in close alliance, on this occasion, with his future foes, the Jesuits. The British clerical opposition to the dogma was, on the whole, lax. But from the ranks of the French and German ecclesiastics present at the Council came adversaries to fight against the Ultramontanes.

The eventual definition of the dogma affected the English Romanists to a greater extent probably than those of other countries, for several reasons. It put back the hands of the clock a

[1] Manning was not created a Cardinal until 1875. Nine years and more elapsed therefore, after he had been made Archbishop, before he received a Cardinal's hat. This delay caused general surprise.

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very long way, and nullified all the progress effected by Rome in England since 1850. The definition of the dogma raised also additional obstacles in the way of making conversions, and henceforth no Protestant could, or would, be received into the Church before testifying to his belief in this novel 'Article of Faith.' Time has proved that the task of getting converts to accept this extraordinary dogma without a murmur has been anything but easy. But there were other reasons tending to render the dogma particularly unpopular. In spite of all the arguments invented by the Ultramontanes to the effect that, although never officially defined, the doctrine of the Infallibility of the Pope had always been tacitly believed by English Romanists, there remained a good deal of printed matter to be quoted as almost conclusive evidence to the contrary. Keenan's *Controversial Catechism*, for instance, a widely circulated and official text-book, had to be brought up to date, in order to alter what its author had laid down as to the meaning of the Pope's Infallibility. Father Keenan, indeed, clearly stated that, not only was the Infallibility of the Pope not believed in by Roman Catholics, but even went so far as to describe the theory that they did so as 'a Protestant invention.'[1] Moreover, during the

[1] 'This' (the Infallibility of the Pope), wrote Father Keenan, a Scottish priest, 'is a Protestant invention; it is no Article of

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delicate negotiations which had preceded the passing of the Act of Emancipation in 1829, the British Government had taken the trouble to inquire into this very question, and they had been solemnly assured by the Irish Bishops, speaking authoritatively on behalf of both clergy and laity, that the Infallibility of the Pope was not an 'Article of Faith,' nor would they ever consent to its becoming one. Again, in the year 1788, the English Romanists, priests and laymen together, had forwarded to Rome a document, in which they denounced the doctrine of the Infallibility as being one they utterly declined to believe, although at that date they had not, of course, yet been asked to do so. A similar statement had been previously made by the Irish in 1757. Dr. Lingard, too, had decided that 'the Infallibility of the Catholic Church resides in the Episcopal College *united* to the Pope'; and his contemporary, Bishop Baines, O.S.B., emphatically declared that there was not a Catholic then living in Great Britain and Ireland who believed in the Infalli-

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the Catholic faith; no decision of his can oblige, under pain of heresy, unless it be received and enforced by the teaching body, that is, by the Bishops of the Church.' Since 1870, this damaging statement has been quietly dropped out of Keenan's book by a clever manipulation of the text, and no hint is given that the text differs in any way from the author's own editions of 1846 and 1853.

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bility of the Pope by himself! Dr. Milner, even, the most ardent of Ultramontanes, confessed that the question of the Infallibility was a mere matter of private opinion, and was not a doctrine at all.

But, triumphant as had been the victory of the Ultramontane party at the Vatican Council, it is not widely known that many of its representatives remained, at heart, dissatisfied with their spoils. They had hoped that the Council would grant the Pope even stronger powers. It was true that the definition of the dogma had raised Pius IX. into the position of a demi-God; but this was insufficient, for they had wished to place him on almost the same level with the Holy Ghost. By some of the most reckless of the Ultramontanes the Pontiff was actually addressed as 'My Lord God'![1] According to the decree of the Infallibility, the Popes became Infallible only when delivering *ex cathedra* utterances; and, as it is a matter of extreme difficulty to discover when the Pope is, or is not, speaking *ex cathedra*, decided limitations have been placed accordingly upon the Papal prerogatives. Had the extremists, among whom Manning and Dr. W. G. Ward were the most prominent Englishmen (although Ward was not, being a layman, present at the Council), prevailed,

[1] Some priests from Cures addressed the Pope as follows: 'Parla, O gran Pio, chio che sono il tuo labbro, non e voce mortal, voce e, di Dio.'

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they would have made the Pope Infallible on all occasions in regard to faith and morals, without restricting him to *ex cathedra* utterances; and it was a bitter blow to them that the Vatican Council did not go so far as to sanction this. By many of the Inopportunists, therefore, the verdict of the Vatican Council was spoken of as an Ultramontane reverse, and the partial honours of the day were claimed for the moderate party.

The absurdity of the situation was quickly demonstrated, when non-Catholic writers and critics began to comment on the curious careers and characters of several of Pio Nono's predecessors, for all of whom he had obtained the title of 'Infallible.' Among these Popes were included some of the most despicable despots who have sat upon a throne. Among these 'Infallible' sinners have been, as is hardly necessary to say, murderers, forgers, lunatics, panders, simonists, intruders, and pagans; whilst, pending the various mediæval Schisms, it was not possible always to decide who really was Pope, so hotly was the dignity contested by the rival claimants.[1] The plea, that the indifferent personal character of a Pope does not affect the validity of the dogma of 1870, because the definition refers only to cases of faith and morals, is, as Mr. Gladstone pointed out, ridiculous, con-

[1] One of whom, Pope John XXIII., was described by his own Cardinals as '*Vas Omnium Peccatorum.*'

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sidering that almost all human doctrines, events, and affairs, come within this category. The spectacle, too, of Popes such as Benedict IX., Clement V., John XII., John XXIII., Boniface VIII., and Alexander VI. being held up for the adoration of the faithful as Infallible arbiters on matters of faith and morals, is nothing short of ludicrous; and yet any Roman Catholic refusing (since 1870) to believe that each of these monsters of iniquity was Infallible must, according to the terms of the definition of the dogma, suffer the pains of eternal punishment. The definition of the dogma, moreover, was delivered in defiance of certain edicts of Pio Nono's predecessors, testifying to the contrary. Several Popes, such as Honorius I., had been convicted of heresy, whilst the original Papal Bull, stating that the sun moves round the earth, and condemning to the flames any person daring to doubt this assertion, is still in existence, much to the annoyance of the Ultramontane school.

Every attempt has been made to conceal from the world, Roman and Protestant, the precise occasions when the Pope is supposed to have been speaking *ex cathedra*. Since 1870, indeed, down to the date of writing, it is not known that he has ever so spoken, since it now appears that the Bull issued in condemnation of the validity of Anglican Orders was not an Infallible utterance; whilst a

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recent Roman Catholic writer (a priest) has calculated that since the (supposed) initial primacy of St. Peter there have not been delivered, at the most, more than half-a-dozen Infallible utterances, by the Popes speaking *ex cathedra*.

In England, after the definition of the dogma, various ingenious theories were propounded by Ultramontane writers[1] to explain to the non-Catholic world what the doctrine of the Infallibility of the Pope really meant, but it cannot be said that the world has become much wiser by these attempts, for the good reason that very few priests, in England at any rate,[2] can be relied upon to give the same interpretation of the dogma. The contention that the dogma does not really insist on the Infallibility of the Pope alone, but merely proclaims the Infallibility of the Roman Catholic Church, as exemplified in the decisions of her Great Councils, is quite erroneous, which is clearly

[1] Cardinal Manning's *True Story of the Vatican Council* is a disjointed and inaccurate attempt to defend the dogma, and the actions of the Ultramontane members of the Vatican Council. Even Dr. Husenbeth (the biographer of Bishop Milner) criticizes Manning's statement as to the belief held by English Romanists of the last generation concerning the Infallibility of the Pope.

[2] In order to be as fair and accurate as possible in forming this conclusion, I consulted previously three different priests—a Jesuit, a Monk, and a Secular—as to the precise meaning of the dogma of the Infallibility of the Pope. They, all three, returned different answers!

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proved by reference to the language of the Bull. The dogma raises the Pope into a position supreme over all Councils, over the Sacred College, and leaves him the Infallible head of a Church, wholly subservient to, and dependent upon him. Dr. Lingard's interpretation of the doctrine of the Infallibility has, consequently, been branded as rank heresy by the definition of 1870.

By the action of the Vatican Council, Rome lost nearly all the ground that she had recovered, from an intellectual point of view, since the Reformation of the sixteenth century. The inclusion of the new doctrine among the 'Articles of Faith' rendered it impossible for Roman Catholicism to be regarded henceforth as a creed worthy of the attention of philosophers. Much moral damage had already been wrought by the same Pope's folly in defining the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary,[1] and by the publication of the 'Syllabus,' which was practically nothing less than an open attack upon all scientific learning and social progress, leaving the policy of the ninth Pius to be remembered in history as one

[1] The definition of this dogma had been warmly opposed by the Dominicans, and supported by their rivals, the Jesuits, and by the Franciscans. The quarrel between these contending Orders was a most bitter one. The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was opposed, denounced, and condemned by some of the greatest of the Catholic theologians, such as Saints Bernard, Thomas Aquinas, and Augustine.

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of the most disastrous, selfish, foolish and retrogressive ever adopted by an occupant of the Papal throne. Considering the unpopularity of the Infallibility, it is somewhat surprising that a schism did not take place in England, as it did in Germany under Dr. Döllinger, and might have in France, had not that country been distracted by the war with Prussia. Many English Romanists, however, stayed on in their Church, notwithstanding that at heart they professed no real credence in this new dogma. Of these (so-called) Liberal Catholics, the ablest of the laymen was the late Lord Acton, who had been present at Rome during the deliberations of the Vatican Council, and was thoroughly conversant with the nature of all the intrigues which disgraced its doings. Why Lord Acton was never excommunicated, or why he never left the Roman Church of his own accord, is most difficult to comprehend. He contented himself, in defending his illogical position, by naïvely stating that he did not see why he should change his religion because the Pope had changed his. Newman's attitude towards the Infallibility was almost equally hostile, and the lame defence, which he eventually published, showed that he did not implicitly believe in it.

Although the final majority of votes in favour of the dogma, as counted on Monday, July 18, 1870, was enormous, it by no means represented

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the unanimous opinion of the Vatican Council, as the Pope had caused it to be made known that any member holding out against the definition of the dogma would be regarded as a rebel against the authority of the Holy See; hence the numerous withdrawals, desertions, and secessions among the 'Inopportunists,' at the eleventh hour. On July 15 the total of the members' recorded votes tells a different tale, viz.—

Voters in favour of the Dogma . .	451	
Voters in favour of the Dogma, but conditional on the adoption of certain important alterations in its terms	62	
Voters against the Dogma . .	88	220
Non-Voters (refused to vote) . .	70	

To this concise list must be added a number of members, who, recognizing that there existed no chance of the 'Inopportunists' gaining the day, had already left Rome, and returned to their respective homes. These priests must have numbered sixty, at least. The real figures, therefore, should have worked out at something like—

In favour of the Dogma, as defined .	451
Against the Dogma, as defined . .	280

Barely three-fifths of the Vatican Council, therefore, were in favour of the dogma, and of this proportion a large number had practically been

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intimidated into voting for the definition. Throughout the sittings of the Council, the 'gag' had been freely applied by the Ultramontanes, ever ready to silence an eloquent opponent. The 'closure' was, therefore, a constant means of getting an end put to a sitting, when things seemed likely to become too lively for the Papal party. Never, indeed, in the history of Christendom had such underhand dealings taken place during a Council of the Church. Archbishop Manning actually confessed that before the Council had commenced, he had secretly 'made the vow drawn up by P. Liberatore, an Italian Jesuit, to do all in his power to obtain the definition.' He had, for the time being, surrendered himself body and soul into the custody of the Jesuits, to work at their bidding, and for the ends of their Society. The Nemesis of Fate, nevertheless, was near at hand, and on the very day when the Pope was solemnly declaring himself Infallible, the ruin of his temporal sovereignty entered on the first stage of its decline and fall, by the declaration of war against Prussia by France. The French troops were, in consequence, withdrawn from Rome, and its people joyfully threw open the gates to welcome the army of the King of a United Italy.

The final scene, enacted in the last session of the great conclave, was not wanting in dramatic

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power. When the terms of the fateful dogma were read out, declaring Pio Nono, his predecessors, and his successors Infallible, a heavy storm, which had long been brewing, burst over the ancient city of the Cæsars, and in the failing light the aid of a candle became necessary in order to complete the reading of the text.[1] Meanwhile, amid the terrific rollings of the thunder, and the flashing of the lightning, the proceedings terminated; and to some of those present who, like the Romans of old, believed in omens and in celestial portents, it seemed as if the Creator, angered at the assurance of the Pontiff, had directed the artillery of heaven to drown with the noise of its thunder-claps the utterances of this little man putting himself upon a level with the Holy Ghost. On the pallid countenances of many of the Conclavists were depicted signs of terror and dismay.

'We teach and define,' proclaimed Pio Nono, 'that it is a dogma divinely revealed, that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when in discharge of the office of Pastor and Doctor of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine regarding faith and morals to be held by the

[1] 'The days of the opening and closing of the Council were the two darkest and most depressing Rome witnessed during its session' (Quirinus).

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Universal Church, by the Divine Assistance promised to him in Blessed Peter, he is possessed of that Infallibility which the Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed for defining doctrine concerning faith and morals; and that, therefore, such decisions of the Roman Pontiff are Irreformable of themselves, *and not from the consent of the Church.* But, if any one —which may God avert—presume to contradict this Our Definition, let him be Anathema.'

The most instructive item in this new programme[1] is that which claims the Papal decisions to be irreformable *per se*, irrespective entirely of the assent of the Sacred College in particular, or of the Church in general. The blunt wording of this clause completely shatters the theory that it is really the Church, and not its head, for which Infallibility is claimed by the Bull. How illogical and contrary to precedent this new dogma was, requires no clearer demonstration than reference to the case of Honorius I., who was formally denounced and convicted, *nemine contradicente*, on an important occasion when the very Papal delegates joined in condemning that Pope, who was described as 'an instrument of Satan.'

[1] The actual wording of the dogma is said to have been the work of Cardinal Cullen: the first Irishman, I believe, to be created a Cardinal. It was not inappropriate that an Irishman should have composed the text, for the definition of the dogma was a bull in more senses than one!

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Other 'heretical' Popes were Callistus I., Nicholas I., Liberius, Eugenius IV., Anastasius I., Nicholas II., and John XXIII.

In striking contrast to the inconsiderate behaviour of Archbishop Manning and Odo Russell was that of the two illustrious Frenchmen, Darboy, Archbishop of Paris, and Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans.[1] Both these prelates, whose theological attainments were admitted to be far higher than those of Manning (known at Rome, during the 'Errington Case,' as 'Monsignore Ignorante'), were distinguished for their inflexible honesty. Darboy died, shortly after returning home, a hero's death at the hands of the Communists,[2] but even then the partisans of the Infallible Pope could find little good to say of the murdered man, and one of Pio's satellites cynically remarked that the Archbishop's 'murder might atone for *some* of his offences.' The policy of these Frenchmen was carried out on far more honourable lines than that of Archbishop Manning and his allies;[3] and, to show to what

[1] Dupanloup had asked, in vain, to be allowed the assistance of Newman at the Council.

[2] To Manning's credit, it must not be forgotten that he did his best to save Darboy's life by invoking the intercession of Bismarck and of the British Government, whose appeal for mercy was brutally rejected by the Communists.

[3] 'My feelings and convictions are, as you well know, decidedly with your Opposition, which I believe to be contend-

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Jesuitical depths the ex-Archdeacon of Chichester had descended, it may be mentioned that he had secretly induced the Pope to release him from his solemn vow of obedience, obligatory on all members of the Vatican Council, not to divulge anything that went on during its meetings.[1] Whilst, therefore, the tongues of the Inopportunists, including Darboy and Dupanloup, were tied, Manning was left free to give away the secrets of the Council to Russell, and others of his party. Of such an act of treachery and duplicity no criticism can be too strong, and it was not for nothing that Manning had earned his nickname of *Diabolus Concilii.*

Although the assemblage gathered together at the Vatican from 1869 to 1870 goes by the name of an Œcumenical Council, it is extremely doubtful whether it ought to be considered as such. If it were to be admitted, for the sake of argument, its claim to the validity of such a title, it would rank, I presume, as about the nineteenth, in

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ing for the religious and civil interests of mankind against influences highly disastrous and menacing to both. But the prevailing opinion is, that it is better to let those influences take their course, and work out the damage which they will naturally and surely entail upon the See of Rome' (Letter from Gladstone to Archbishop Manning, written during the Council).

[1] Manning was then allowed personal access to the Pope, at all times, by means of a secret stairway and door leading into the Papal apartments.

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chronological sequence, of the Œcumenical Councils; its predecessors having been the following: the first Council of Nicea, A.D. 325; the first Council of Constantinople, 381; Ephesus, 431; Chalcedon, 451; the second Council of Constantinople, 553; the third Council of Constantinople, 680; the second Nicene Council, 787; the fourth Council of Constantinople, 869; the first Lateran Council, 1123; the second Lateran Council, 1139; the third Lateran Council, 1179; the fourth Lateran Council, 1215; the first Council of Lyons, 1245; the second Council of Lyons, 1274; Vienne, 1311; Constance, 1414; Basle, 1431; and Trent, 1545–1563.[1]

The verdict of the Vatican Council seems to have brought finally to an end the old but long-strained friendship which had existed between Manning and the then Premier, Mr. Gladstone. According to a private paper, quoted in Purcell's *Life of Cardinal Manning*, the abrupt termination of their intercourse was in Manning's opinion due to the conduct of Lord Acton. 'Gladstone's geese,' wrote Manning, 'were always swans. His friendship always blinds him. Time was when I had the benefit of his illusions. When

[1] The sittings of the Council of Trent took place in the years 1545, 1546, 1547, 1551, 1562, and 1563, under the Popes Paul III., Julius III., and Pius IV.

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this turned, Acton was the man made to his hand. He (Acton) was a Catholic, learned in literature, of a German industry, cold, self-confident, supercilious towards opponents, a disciple of Döllinger, and predisposed against me. He was a client of Newman's, whom he used to call "our awful chief." . . . His was precisely the mind that would most surely and speedily sharpen, and sour, and stimulate Gladstone's mind. Then, his whole conduct in Rome during the Council was an active and canvassing opposition to the majority of the Council. He was the *mediastinus* between the French and German bishops, always busy with tongue and pen.[1] Now, all this poisoned Gladstone; and the part I took in the Council pointed his irritation upon me.'

Relations between Cardinal Manning and Mr. Gladstone became a little more cordial when 'Home Rule' was mooted by the great Liberal statesman, but before a majority of the House of Commons decided in its favour the Cardinal was dead, and his successor at Archbishop's House was most outspoken in denouncing the measure, both in his public and in his private utterances.

[1] Hostile as was Lord Acton to the dogma of the Infallibility, his criticisms were not more severe than those expressed by the Catholic poet, Coventry Patmore, who described Pio Nono's definition of the new dogma as 'merely the personal opinions of an amiable old gentleman, by which I am in no degree bound.'

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CHAPTER VII

THE POLICY OF CARDINAL MANNING

THE history of Henry Edward Manning's Roman Catholic career[1] has been related with so much fidelity and elaborate detail by his painstaking biographer, Mr. Purcell, that it may seem, at first sight, unnecessary to review here his policy as Archbishop of Westminster. But Purcell, it should be remembered, was a staunch Roman Catholic at heart, with the result that he has rendered scant justice to the Cardinal in certain matters, as he has similarly done him more than justice in others. He was, for instance, so strongly opposed to Gallicanism, that

[1] Born in 1808, Henry Edward Manning matriculated at Balliol College, Oxford, and became a Fellow of Merton College. On leaving Oxford, he became successively curate and vicar of Lavington, Sussex, and Archdeacon of Chichester. On November 5, 1843, he preached a much-discussed anti-papal sermon at Oxford. In 1850, he protested against the Gorham Judgment, and the following year saw the termination of his Anglican career. In 1848, he had visited Pius IX., at Rome. His wife was the third daughter of the Rev. John Sargent, of Lavington.

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he has criticized hardly at all Manning's harsh Ultramontane views. And although he has revealed to an astonished world the truth, or most of the truth, about the 'Errington Case,' leading his readers to look upon that as the least happy period in the Cardinal's career, he has altogether glossed over the history of Manning's intrigues at Rome during the Vatican Council. Moreover, some of Cardinal Manning's virtues have actually ranked as faults in his biographer's judgment, such as his 'teetotalism,' his sympathy with the work of the Salvation Army in the East End of London, and his later hostility to the Jesuits.

With all its faults, Purcell's book is, nevertheless, a valuable biography, and its issue was distinctly a public gain, creating as it did a profound and lasting impression among Romanists and Protestants alike. That the author had succeeded in producing so very candid and plain-speaking a book caused much genuine surprise; and many erroneous conjectures remain current to this day as to how he evaded the vigilance of Cardinal Manning's executors, and the authorities at Archbishop's House. As the true story of how Mr. Purcell came to write the book, in the first instance, and subsequently to publish it, seems little known, I venture to offer the following version as being, I believe, strictly accurate.

Edmund Sheridan Purcell was a Roman

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Catholic journalist[1] who had been for several years past no great favourite of Manning. But, in the Cardinal's old age, Purcell approached him with a request that bygones might be bygones, and that his Eminence would be so good as to help him with a new literary project likely to be a financial success. Purcell's project was to get the Cardinal's sanction and aid to enable him to write his biography, to be published in book form. Manning, out of kindness to the author, with whom he wished to remain no longer at variance, agreed to lend him many papers necessary towards compiling the book, which was to rank as nothing more than a 'popular' Life, and was not to include anything of importance likely to occasion scandal or controversy concerning what had gone on behind the scenes in Rome or in England.

Whilst Purcell was at work on the earlier chapters, the Cardinal died. Purcell thereupon went to Manning's literary executors, the Oblates at Bayswater, and asked them to give him all the dead man's papers for the purpose of enabling him to complete his biography. The executors, knowing that Manning had approved of Purcell writing 'a' Life, regarded the ex-journalist in the light of an official biographer, and handed over to

[1] Mr. Purcell died at Eastbourne, April 12, 1899. He was born December 1, 1823, in London. He was a member of the Roman Academy of Letters.

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him all the papers and letters in their care, *en masse*. Many of these papers were of the utmost importance, and contained matter which the Cardinal had never dreamed of letting Purcell, or anybody else, have for publication. They included the correspondence of Manning with Monsignor George Talbot, and contained also original information and evidence in regard to the shabby treatment of Newman by Manning,[1] W. G. Ward, and others. That the executors would ever have let Purcell have these papers, had they known their contents, is more than improbable, since the vital interests of their religion, political and spiritual, demanded that so much dirty linen should not be washed in public.

Mr. Purcell seems to have been troubled by no scruples in sending his manuscript to the press. He endeavoured to shelter himself from criticism by the plea that the executors were solely responsible, and that as he had satisfied them as to his good intentions, he was acting in a perfectly honourable manner as their agent. Had the executors known of the contents of the papers, and had they been acquainted with the true story of Purcell's relations with Manning, they would not have surrendered the papers. Purcell's

[1] 'Dr. Newman is more English than the English,' wrote one of Manning's Roman correspondents; 'his spirit must be crushed.'

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defence, therefore, cannot be entertained, for, either wittingly or unwittingly, he had hoodwinked the executors. His methods, whatever one may think of the results, cannot be condoned. Cardinal Vaughan indulged in the criticism that the 'publication of this book is almost a crime.'[1]

As we have seen already, Purcell did, at the eleventh hour, consent to 'bowdlerize' his book; but it seems a pity that he did so. For if he intended at the beginning to tell the truth, it would have been better to keep nothing back, and to let his readers form their verdict as they liked upon an unabridged text, instead of yielding (as alleged) to the pressure of the Jesuits and the friends of W. G. Ward. The appearance of the two volumes in print created an immense sensation, which was intensified by the lame and impotent attempts on the part of Archbishop's House to answer it. But effective destructive criticism of a work founded on original documentary evidence was a most difficult task, and it degenerated into mere abuse of the author. Cardinal Vaughan's theory, propounded in the *Nineteenth Century*, that Manning, during the last few years of his life, had become the victim of senile decay, was the reverse of correct. More-

[1] Mr. Gladstone, in reply to a query as to what he thought of Purcell's book (then recently published), replied, 'The author has left nothing for the Day of Judgment!'

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over, even if the Cardinal had failed intellectually towards the last, his illness then could not excuse his behaviour during the Errington Case, or at the Vatican Council, when he was in the very fulness of his physical and mental vigour. As a matter of fact, Cardinal Manning's intellectual powers remained unimpaired to the end of his long career.

Severe as must be the criticism of Manning's treatment of Errington, or of his extreme Ultramontanism, it cannot be denied that he was a capable man. Notwithstanding, too, his extreme Ultramontanism, he never quite forgot that he was an Englishman. Harrow and Oxford had, in spite of Italian influences, left their mark upon him. As Cardinal Archbishop, the chief exceptions to be taken to his policy were all due to his unbending Ultramontanism. His personal prohibition of Roman Catholics from going to Oxford and Cambridge was a profound mistake, and one which was speedily rectified by his successor, Cardinal Vaughan. Another error, attended by disaster, was his scheme for the establishment of a Roman Catholic university in Kensington, under the presidency of the versatile Monsignor Capel. His rigid rules in relation to Church music, the pronunciation of ecclesiastical Latin, and Roman vestments, were often very obnoxious to his priests. All attempts, also, to

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establish in England a Roman Catholic press, uncontrolled by, and wholly free from priestly interference, were distasteful to the Cardinal, who was instrumental in suppressing the *Rambler*, the best written journal, with the highest literary tone that has yet been published in this country under Roman Catholic direction. In so far as the above mistakes are concerned, Manning's arbitrary policy followed closely upon the lines of Cardinal Wiseman's and of Bishop Milner's, but in certain other respects his rule showed marked divergence from theirs ; as, for instance, his (later) opposition to the Jesuits, and his championship of the rights of the Secular clergy, whilst he refused his consent to a scheme for getting a Papal Nuncio to reside in London.

It is significant that Cardinal Manning, in common with many others of his co-religionists, started by being a friend of the Jesuits, but finished by becoming their uncompromising opponent. When first ordained, he occupied a confessional at Farm Street (where he had been received into the Roman Church), but this unusual arrangement did not continue for long. It was with his sanction, however, that the Oxford mission was given, most unwisely, to the Jesuits, but this was probably in order to keep out Newman and the Oratorians. As he grew older, notwithstanding all he had done

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for the Jesuits in 1870, and they for him, his hostility to the Society grew more pronounced. He turned a deaf ear to its entreaties to be allowed to open schools, or a school, in or near London, and especially in Brompton. That the whole of the story of Manning's quarrel with the Society is not told in Purcell's pages is to be regretted. But Purcell himself seems, or seemed when he wrote his book, to sympathize with the Society, and he has not rendered the Cardinal sufficient justice in the matter. It was his antipathy to the Jesuits that was the principal factor in leading Manning into his mistake of founding the Kensington University under Capel, an enterprise intended evidently to injure Stonyhurst and Beaumont. Of the suppression of the Society, in 1773, by Clement XIV., Cardinal Manning was wont to speak in terms of the highest admiration. He regarded it, indeed, as an act inspired by the Holy Ghost.[1]

Of the canonical rights of the Secular clergy in England Cardinal Manning proved a staunch and strenuous advocate. At his request, the Secular priests foolishly assumed the title of 'Father,' hitherto used only by the Regular clergy. He

[1] As to this view, it may fairly be asked, if the Papal suppression of the Jesuits in 1773 was inspired by the Holy Ghost, to whose agency are we to ascribe their restoration, at the hands of another Pope, in 1814?

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knew all about Wiseman's fatuity in confiding in the monks, and he did not like to hear English secular priests being compared unfavourably with French or Italian monks and friars. Had Cardinal Manning lived, the schism at Ealing would not have occurred. His sympathy with the Home Rulers won him many Irish friends, as it did foes among old-fashioned English Romanists, who have preserved many of the old-time prejudices against their co-religionists in Ireland. But Manning's sympathy with the Irish Nationalists assumed something more than a mere theoretical form, and his efforts to reclaim the poor Irish in London from drunken habits met with some measure of success. With the majority of his flock, however, the Cardinal's teetotal propaganda was unpopular, and was regarded as a fad savouring of Protestantism.

Manning's success, moreover, as a temperance advocate was not so great as has been conjectured,[1] of which the following anecdote furnishes amusing evidence. It was the Cardinal's custom to visit, on a certain afternoon in summer, the Crystal Palace, in order to celebrate there a huge temperance *fête*, for which purpose a large number of Romanists who practised, or professed to prac-

[1] Visiting one of his priests, the Cardinal asked him what he had personally done for the temperance cause. 'I have made my curate take the pledge,' replied the priest.

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tise, teetotal principles were wont to assemble. Manning, after the establishment of this festival as an annual institution, approached the Directors of the Palace, and asked them to help him to mark the day as an important and notable event by refusing to sell any intoxicating liquors during the afternoon even to ordinary members of the non-Catholic public, not bound by any temperance vows, present in the grounds at the time. The Directors replied politely that, much as they appreciated the good intentions and high motives actuating the Cardinal, pecuniary reasons prevented, in the interests of shareholders, their granting his request, for on the day of the Roman Catholic temperance *fête* as much (if not more) drink was sold as on almost any other day in the year.

With the sole exception of his opposition to the Jesuits—his quondam allies of 1869–1870—the chief features of Cardinal Manning's episcopal policy were Ultramontane in the extreme. He had, in the beginning, been put over the heads of rival competitors suspected of Gallicanism, and he determined thenceforth to render the Roman Church in England directly subservient to the Holy See. In this he was merely carrying out the directions of his patron, Pio Nono, to whom he owed so much, and whose kindness he well repaid by gratefully and fervently supporting the

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Ultramontane party at the Vatican Council. Manning seemed, indeed, to be possessed with the idea that the only (spiritual) hope for modern England was to establish in it a powerful Papal Church, which should gain in vigour and in numbers in proportion as the inroads of free-thought slowly but surely weakened the various branches of Protestantism. But this delusive optimism was never likely to be realized. The very Ultramontane victory at the Vatican Council, with which he had been so prominently connected, was destined to prove an insuperable obstacle to the future progress and prowess of Rome in England; and, notwithstanding the opening of new missions, the building of big churches, and the coming of more monks and nuns from abroad, Rome in England is, in proportion to the increase of population, losing ground.

Considering that Cardinal Manning was not popular with the majority of his flock for many years, and considering how, after the death of Pio Nono,[1] his influence declined at Rome itself, it is somewhat surprising that, till the end of his life, he should have continued to reign supreme at Westminster, and that the news of his death (he died within a few hours of H.R.H. the Duke of

[1] 'I had the greatest difficulty,' Pio Nono confessed to Manning, 'in making you Archbishop of Westminster. The opposition to your nomination was of a very serious character!'

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Clarence) should have evoked such an extraordinary demonstration of popular interest. The secret of this lay principally in the Cardinal's personality. He was, as I have already argued, a strong man, and his errors in policy were due rather to his arbitrary notions of authority than to lack of ability. His successor, Cardinal Vaughan, although the possessor of certain advantages to which Manning could lay no claim, proved himself somewhat of a failure as Primate through lack of strength, notwithstanding that he was very popular with the old Catholic families, the Jesuits, and the monks, to all of whom, in many respects, Manning had been 'anathema.' Cardinal Manning, too, as years went on, lived to be generally popular as a 'Grand Old Man.' Just as Gladstone, towards the last, became popular even among Tories, proud of him as a great Englishman, so did Manning, for the same reason, become respected in quarters formerly most hostile to him. Increasing age did not prevent him from appearing in public, and when he achieved his diplomatic triumph of arbitrating successfully in the dockers' strike, he was a very old man.

It is curious to reflect how very different—but for the death of his wife—his career would have been. So long as she lived, Manning was effectively barred from taking holy orders in the Church of Rome. Of the historical importance of his wife's

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death a curious anecdote is recorded illustrative of the unpopularity in which many of the Oxford converts were held by members of the 'old school.' Two priests were discussing, one day, current Roman Catholic topics, and one of them, in the course of conversation, expressed his opinion that the greatest misfortune which had ever happened to Rome in England since the Reformation had been the reception of John Henry Newman into the Church.

'Not so,' replied his friend.[1] 'I can tell you of a much greater calamity—the death of a woman!' (Mrs. Manning.)

This bitter report was afterwards repeated to Cardinal Manning, who was very angry, as he had every reason to be.

As a writer, Cardinal Manning, although the author of many powerful theological works, did not take very high rank. As a literary force, he ever remained in the shade when compared with his rival at Edgbaston. Dry and correct as were (from the Ultramontane point of view) his writings, they lacked the ornate style and vivacity of a master-hand, and he was not skilled in either science or philosophy, notwithstanding his patronage of the Metaphysical Society. With all his austerity, the ascetic Manning was endowed with a caustic wit, which never failed to serve

[1] Canon Macmullen.

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him in good stead. Told once by a self-satisfied Protestant youth that it was so difficult to find a suitable profession, and failing a better, he should take holy orders, Manning (no believer in the validity of Anglican orders) quietly replied, 'See that you get them, my son!' Shortly after the death of Cardinal Newman, Manning was shown an uncomplimentary newspaper criticism dealing unfavourably with certain traits of the dead man's character. 'Very sad, and none too charitable,' commented the Cardinal; 'but if you ask me whether it is like poor Newman, I am bound to say—a photograph!'

One of the most unpleasant incidents in the history of Cardinal Manning's primacy was the disturbance connected with the social ruin of the famous Monsignor Capel, the 'Catesby' of Disraeli's *Lothair*. Monsignor Capel was a Secular priest in the arch-diocese, a brilliant pulpit orator, a clever controversialist, and the possessor of a fascinating manner and address, which helped him to make many converts to Romanism, especially among ladies of (what the newspapers call) 'good social position.' Lord Bute, said to be the original of *Lothair*, was among his converts, as was the Duchess of Norfolk. He was a man who owed much to his Church, for he was born the son of a coast-guard, and had thus 'risen from the ranks,' thanks to the education he had re-

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ceived at the hands of his co-religionists.[1] He was no financier, and it was a profound error of judgment on the Cardinal's part to appoint him President of the Kensington University, which, as was generally anticipated by those best qualified to judge, ended in financial collapse, whilst insufficient attention was, meanwhile, given to the moral welfare of the lads under his care. Cardinal Manning, however, loyal to his (then) friend, sacrificed his private fortune in paying Monsignor Capel's debts, with the help of others, in order to avoid the scandal of bankruptcy. But, another charge was yet to be brought against Capel, lodged this time by one of his 'penitents.' The case was referred to Rome, where Capel, to Manning's indignation, obtained an initial verdict in his favour. Convinced in his own mind of Capel's guilt, Manning exerted all his influence to get a verdict of 'guilty' against Capel, on the case being heard before the Inquisition. The Cardinal was entirely successful, and Monsignor Capel was suspended from the rights to exercise his priestly offices in any part of the world. He retired, accordingly, to North America, to lead eventually the life of an

[1] Capel, nevertheless, was not really a scholar, or a deep thinker, and his popularity as a preacher caused much surprise, and even amusement, amongst the more learned members of the priesthood.

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ordinary layman in one of the Western States of the Union.

Referring, once more, to Cardinal Manning's pronounced hostility towards John Henry Newman, it will be worth while to enumerate the various forms which this assumed. In the first place, for a term of years, Manning, supported by Monsignor George Talbot, and by W. G. Ward, persistently misrepresented the opinions and behaviour of Newman, at Rome, where the learned Oratorian became to be regarded, in consequence, almost as a 'Liberal Catholic,' his avowed hatred of what he called Liberalism notwithstanding. Manning, also, prevented Newman from going, with his Oratorians, to Oxford; helped to prohibit his scheme for publishing a new translation of the Bible; made no attempt to check the attacks of W. G. Ward; let it be given out that Newman[1] was quite content to lead such an unimportant and retired life at Edgbaston; prevented Newman from attending the Vatican Council; tried to keep him from receiving a Cardinal's hat; and, when he found that he was powerless to prevent Leo XIII.

[1] 'I see much danger,' once wrote Manning, 'of an English Catholicism of which Newman is the highest type. It is the old Anglican patristic literary Oxford tone transplanted into the Church.' On the very day of Manning's consecration as Archbishop of Westminster, he was petitioned by W. G. Ward to denounce Newman as a heretic, although Newman was actually present at the ceremony of the consecration.

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creating Newman a Cardinal, he had it announced in the English press that Newman was unwilling to accept the Pope's offer. After his plans had failed, and Newman had become Cardinal, Manning rejoiced that old age would not permit him to enjoy his honours long. In face of all this, therefore, it is not difficult to realize Newman's surprise, during one of his rare visits to London, on being greeted by Manning with an embrace. 'Why! he actually kissed me,' exclaimed the disgusted Oratorian.

It is a more pleasant task to recall Manning the Social Reformer. In this capacity, he stood far above his co-religionists, or, at any rate, his clergy. It is sad to note that, before Cardinal Manning's day, the English Romanists had done but little indeed towards aiding in any works of social reform, or of public charity. Cardinal Manning was even assailed by many members of his own communion for taking so prominent a part in endeavouring to stem the liquor traffic; in endeavouring to abolish vivisection; in endeavouring to put a stop to the trade of selling young girls for immoral purposes; in endeavouring to punish perpetrators of cruelty to children; and in endeavouring (here was a point on which he and Leo XIII. were at one) to aid workmen to earn an equitable living wage. As he himself bitterly reflected, English Romanists had borne no part

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hitherto in doing good works outside the narrow limits of their own fold, and their conduct in this particular compared unfavourably with that of Anglicans and Protestant Nonconformists.

Notwithstanding his opposition to the appointment of a Papal Nuncio to England, and his charitable works, Cardinal Manning must always rank with those of his predecessors who strove to Latinize their Church in England. In policy, he was a lineal descendant of ecclesiastics like Becket, Pole, Milner, and Wiseman. His system, indeed, saw the ultimate completion of that adopted by Bishop Milner, and developed by Cardinal Wiseman, namely, of making Ultramontane principles paramount.[1] In this, he went beyond all true reasonable limits, to the extent of imposing a tyranny on the laity, and of 'Italianating' the clergy. His desire was to set the Bishop of Rome above all rulers and princes, and endowed again with the fullest temporal power. He wished him to be regarded as the 'last supreme Judge on earth,' holding sway over all nations and

[1] 'The Pope (Pius IX.) gave the English a Hierarchy with a Cardinal, removed Dr. Errington, and made you [Manning] Archbishop, and he has met with no gratitude. I have never heard an Englishman thank him for one of these three things' (Letter from Talbot to Manning, quoted by Purcell. Monsignor Talbot failed to comprehend the English antipathy to Ultramontanism; or he would have understood why it was that the Pope's efforts were so coldly received).

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peoples, and over all classes of society, from the King seated upon his throne down to the peasant labouring at the plough; and he told his priests to 'subjugate and subdue, to bend and to break, the will of an Imperial race, the will which, as the will of Rome of old, rules over nations invincible and inflexible.'

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Chapter VIII

CARDINAL VAUGHAN

DR. HERBERT VAUGHAN, at the time of Cardinal Manning's death, had for some years past been Roman Catholic Bishop of Salford. He had been generally regarded in all quarters as likely to succeed Cardinal Manning at Westminster, and Rome in England was spared an occurrence of the intrigues in regard to the electing a new Primate which had taken place after Wiseman's decease, and were to take place again after that of Vaughan himself. Although not a divine of any remarkable ability, considered as a writer or a preacher, Herbert Vaughan laid claim to the possession of certain qualifications for filling the vacant See such as were held by none of his rival competitors for that post. With the exception of Dr. Hedley, Bishop of Newport, a learned Benedictine monk, there was not another of Vaughan's episcopal colleagues who could boast of any real talents or clear capacity for government. Monsignor Gilbert, the energetic Vicar-General of Westminster, was probably the only

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candidate whose claims were seriously entertained besides those of Herbert Vaughan, whose election he did not, as it happened, long survive.

Dr. Vaughan, at the period of his translation to Westminster,[1] gave every promise of proving both a capable and a popular Primate. The head of a county family, and related to many of the ancient Romanist houses in England, his succession was welcomed by a class or classes of his co-religionists with whom Cardinal Manning had never been *persona grata*. His appointment was especially welcome to the Religious Orders. With the Irish only, it was apparently unpopular. Dr. Vaughan was known to be by repute of rather an autocratic and domineering disposition, but it was widely anticipated, even by some who had known but not liked him at Salford, where he was not very popular, that he would accommodate himself, without difficulty, to the conditions and requirements of his new career, in London.

One of his first public acts was to remove Cardinal Manning's ban against Roman Catholics going to the great English Universities, and to arrange for the establishment of Roman Catholic

[1] Born on April 15, 1832, Herbert Vaughan became Bishop of Salford in 1872, Archbishop in 1892, and a Cardinal in 1893. For an interesting account of his ancestry, see *Memorials of Old Herefordshire* (published in 1904, by Messrs. Bemrose).

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Halls at Oxford. This step was, from the Roman Catholic point of view, decidedly sagacious.[1] He busied himself next with the belated question of building a metropolitan cathedral, but here he encountered strenuous opposition in certain quarters. It was contended that many of the missions in the arch-diocese were too heavily burdened financially to allow Roman Catholic laymen to subscribe conscientiously towards funds for erecting and endowing a great cathedral. Moreover, some of the methods whereby the Cardinal proposed to raise the necessary funds became very unpopular, and were put into operation at the expense of many of the metropolitan missions, which suffered much financial loss in consequence. Again, the particular form of architecture chosen for the design of the new building did not meet with popular approval, and it was only after encountering prolonged opposition that the Cardinal's scheme eventually triumphed. That a cathedral was wanted in central London for the Roman Catholic population cannot be doubted, for the situation of the Pro-Cathedral[2] made it most inconvenient to reach, and as a rule the Oratory of St. Philip Neri, at Brompton, had

[1] Vaughan, also, lost no time in abolishing the Hammersmith Seminary, another example of Cardinal Manning's educational failures.

[2] Our Lady of Victories, High Street, Kensington.

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been used for some time past for the celebration of important functions.[1] The former Pro-Cathedral, St. Mary, Moorfields, in the city, was pulled down, and the bulk of the huge sum gained by the sale of its site was devoted towards the building fund of the Westminster Cathedral, a proceeding which evoked further criticism. Time has, however, done much already to justify the Cardinal's action in collecting money from all quarters to raise the much-needed basilica, which may, when the ornamentation of the interior has been completed, rank as one of the finest examples of Byzantine architecture extant. The site of the cathedral had been purchased many years before the commencement of the building operations for a moderate sum. The foundation-stone was laid on June 29, 1895. John Francis Bentley, the architect, died seven years later.

In his relations with the Religious Orders, Cardinal Vaughan showed himself to be more friendly disposed to the Regulars than his predecessors had been. At Salford, he had distinguished himself by the valiant manner in which he had fought against the Jesuits over an educational question, and had even contested his case stubbornly against them at Rome. On

[1] Such as the requiems for Cardinals Newman and Manning, and the theatrical dedication of England, by Cardinal Vaughan, to the Virgin Mary and St. Peter.

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coming south, his policy changed. His friendship with the Jesuits, and with other of the Orders, caused annoyance to the Secular clergy. Foreign monks, too, were warmly welcomed to England by the Cardinal, and were allowed to establish themselves here in large numbers, notwithstanding the fact that many of them were extreme Anglophobes. Father Bernard Vaughan, the Cardinal's eloquent Jesuit brother, was brought from Manchester to London, in order to keep in touch with Archbishop's House. Meanwhile, the Jesuits slowly, but surely, commenced to obtain control over a portion of the Roman Catholic Press, and the Cardinal's own organ was transplanted into a fertile field for Jesuit seed.

In two noteworthy instances, Cardinal Vaughan's partiality for the Regulars brought him into disfavour with the majority of his co-religionists. These instances were connected with the excommunication of Professor St. George Mivart, and the selection of a choir for the Westminster Cathedral. Dr. Mivart belonged to the Liberal Catholic School, and had for some time given great offence at Archbishop's House, owing to the broadness of his views. His article on 'Happiness in Hell' had been put on the 'Index,' and he had been compelled to withdraw from the position he had assumed on the subject. Later on, however, he gave equal offence by an article

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on the Apocrypha; and though very ill at the time, was furiously denounced by Cardinal Vaughan, who excommunicated him when dying, and then refused to grant his corpse the rites of Christian burial. That the Cardinal would have excommunicated Mivart, if left to himself, is a little doubtful. In this matter he listened to the advice of a trio of priests, who had delated Mivart to him.[1] It was felt that the Cardinal and these confederates, one of whom was a Jesuit, acted with great want of judgment in the matter, if not with a total lack of charity, since, knowing Mivart's condition to be critical, he could not expect to live to be guilty of any further heresy. It was even said that not one of Cardinal Vaughan's episcopal colleagues could have subscribed to such a recantation as that of the paper sent to Mivart for signature from Archbishop's House, so utterly ludicrous were its terms. But, justice was done to Mivart's memory, after

[1] Mr. Percy Fitzgerald, F.S.A., in his discursive *Fifty Years of Catholic Life and Progress*, incorrectly states that Professor Mivart was 'delated' to Cardinal Vaughan by Abbot Gasquet; that the famous picture, exhibited at the Royal Academy, of the nude St. Elizabeth of Hungary doing penance, was painted by Sir E. Poynter; that Cardinal Vaughan had a brother Archbishop of 'Sidney'; that his family resided in Hertfordshire; that the great English Carthusian house is situated in Leicestershire, instead of in Sussex; and that the case of Achilli *versus* J. H. Newman took place in the year 1835.

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Cardinal Vaughan's death, when the Professor's body was reburied, with full Roman Catholic rites, under the auspices of Archbishop Bourne. In regard to the question of the cathedral choir, Cardinal Vaughan, to the general astonishment of his co-religionists in this country, abruptly announced his intention of placing all the choral services under the direction of a foreign community of Benedictine monks, brought over specially from France for this purpose. This extraordinary scheme, defended on the dubious grounds of musical exigencies, gave unbounded annoyance to both clergy and laity; but the storm created by the Cardinal's action subsided when it became known that, not only had the French monks declined to accept his offer, but that even the English Benedictines, whom the Cardinal had approached after the refusal of the French, had also respectfully declined to go to Westminster. The administration of the cathedral, therefore, very properly passed into the hands of the Secular clergy of the arch-diocese.

The death of Queen Victoria was an event which occurred during Cardinal Vaughan's primacy, when he was away from London on a visit to Rome. It was the wish of many of his co-religionists that requiem masses should be said for the dead Queen, but this was forbidden in stern language by the obdurate Cardinal. That

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he was right, according to canon law, in refusing to allow masses to be said, cannot be denied; but it was much to be regretted that his strange want of tact should have led him into referring to the late Queen in terms indeed complimentary, but not well chosen. Protest after protest was lodged against his conduct by English Roman Catholics, with the result that on returning home from Rome the Cardinal found himself by no means too popular among the members of his own communion.

In his general relations with the Secular clergy, Cardinal Vaughan became often involved in broils which produced unhappy results, such as the case of the dispute between the Benedictines and the Roman Catholic Rector of Ealing, and that of the (so-called) 'Nottingham Prelates.' As regards the latter, the diocese of Nottingham had existed in a very perturbed state for years past, and its government had proved far from being an easy task. On the retirement of the Bishop, Dr. Bagshawe,[1] who was created a titular Archbishop, two of his priests were nominated by him for the dignity of Monsignor, and briefs to that effect were sent to them,

[1] Dr. Bagshawe had some years previously created a great sensation by denouncing the 'Primrose League' as a secret society, which he declared must be classed with that of the Freemasons as one hostile to Roman Catholicism. An appeal to Rome resulted in his having to withdraw his manifesto.

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in confirmation of their election, from Rome. The news of these priests having become Monsignori was very unwelcome to Cardinal Vaughan, who ordered them to return their briefs and renounce their lately-acquired titles. They declined to obey the Cardinal, who, thereupon, exerted all his influence to get the briefs cancelled at Rome, and in this obtained the consent of the proper authorities at the Vatican.

But there then arose a great difficulty. The priests were not accused of any moral or canonical fault, and they contended, with a considerable show of canonical right, that their Roman briefs could not be revoked merely at the request of an individual. Moreover, the dignity of Monsignor is extra-diocesan; it is entirely a Papal dignity, carrying no diocesan position or parochial responsibilities with it, and its conferment does not in any way raise the recipient's position in his diocese. Its rank is peculiar to the Papal court. These priests' position was therefore a very strong one, and all that could be done was to request them to withdraw from their respective missions, which they abandoned accordingly.

After some time, however, one of the pair gave way, returned his brief, renounced his dignity, and went back to Nottingham; and the other, after joining for a short interlude a movement known as the 'Revolt from Rome,' made his peace with the

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Cardinal later on, and again obtained missionary work.

From first to last, the incident had been distressing to all parties, and was one as to the rights of which much could be said on both sides. That the Cardinal had grounds for protesting against these energetic priests becoming Monsignori was a matter upon which no doubt was ever entertained by those acquainted with the nature of the reasons on which he based his opposition; but it would possibly have been more tactful on his part, after finding the priests had stolen a march upon him, to have 'let sleeping dogs lie,' and not essay the difficult task, in the full light of publicity, of obtaining a revocation of the briefs. After all, the dignity of Monsignor is in England a very insignificant one, and merely entitles its recipient to assume a Papal title, and to wear a coloured costume inside his church or house.

As was natural, considering his position, Cardinal Vaughan bore a very prominent part in the agitation, which evoked so much interest in England, in the year 1896, concerning the question of the validity of Anglican Orders. That the Pope would decide in favour of the validity Cardinal Vaughan never, for one moment, conjectured, and he never led the extreme Church party into building up any false hopes on the subject. The most advanced Anglicans, nevertheless, seem to have

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anticipated, *ab initio*, that Rome would decide in favour of the validity, and it is true that the Pope was in the beginning in favour of the validity, for an unsigned Bull was actually drafted to that effect.[1] But Leo was eventually induced, under the influence of motives or reasons never fully explained, to change his mind, and the official Bull,[2] when issued to the world, was found to declare that Anglican Orders had always been invalid. The anger of the extreme Anglicans at this drastic decision was unrestrained, and some were known to assert, *inter alia*, that they had been deceived by Cardinal Vaughan. But why Cardinal Vaughan should have been singled out as a victim it is hard to comprehend, for he had never given that faction any cause to imagine that they were playing a winning game. That some subtle intrigue must have been going on, to have induced Leo XIII. to change his mind, and draft another Bull differing *in toto* from that first drawn up, was evident, but I am not aware that any sound reasons existed for

[1] In the year 1840, Lingard had warned Wiseman against entering into public argument on the 'irritating subject' of Anglican Orders. Wiseman accepted his advice, and abandoned his previous intentions of raising a discussion on the subject.

[2] By the terms of the Bull, *Apostolicæ Curæ*, the Anglican Orders were pronounced 'Absolutely null and utterly void, on the grounds of defect of form in the rite, and of defect of intention in the ministry.'

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blaming Cardinal Vaughan as a participator in these proceedings.

As a matter of fact, the Cardinal had treated the extreme High Church party, in the first instance, in too confiding a manner, as he afterwards realized to his cost. He thought that all the advanced men were willing to abide implicitly by the Pope's decision. He imagined, therefore, that if Anglican Orders were decreed to be invalid, the extreme High Churchmen would be forced into the dilemma either of remaining in a Church, the Orders of whose clergy were asserted to be null and void, or of coming over in a body to Rome. He fully, and not unreasonably, expected that the Papal Bull, *Apostolicæ Curæ*, would be the means of inducing a large number of the Anglican clergy and laity to join the Church of Rome. But in forming these illusive hopes he was doomed to suffer bitter disappointment. The Ritualists remained where they were, and the tremendous secession from Canterbury to Rome, which had been so vainly looked for by the Ultramontanes, never came off. By the majority of intelligent Englishmen the Anglican Orders agitation had been treated with derision. Most men had long made up their minds on the subject, and cared not a jot what Leo XIII., or any other Bishop of Rome, had to say. Moreover, they were not so silly as to believe that Rome would stultify her position by declaring

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in favour of the Orders of what she regards as an Erastian Church. That enough was discovered at Rome, indeed, during the course of the researches entered into upon the history of the question of the controversy, to show that Anglican Orders, even from the Roman point of view, are valid, is probable, and this seems to have been the original opinion of Leo XIII. Strange stories, too, were told of the discovery of certain important documents, in the Vatican archives, favourable to the validity of the Orders, but which were kept back from examination by those who were acting on behalf of the High Church party.[1]

It would have been an error in tactics had Ultramontane Rome declared Anglican Orders to be valid, and that the question of their validity will ever be raised again, so far as Rome is concerned, seems doubtful, in view of the decisive wording of the Bull, *Apostolicæ Curæ;* but, it must not be forgotten that this Bull does not rank as an infallible utterance of a Pope speaking *ex cathedra*, so that there remains nothing absolutely to prevent a revival of the whole controversy at some future time. The peculiar position illustrates nicely the frailty of the dogma of the Infallibility of the Pope,

[1] The Papal advisers were very much afraid that, if Anglican Orders were declared valid, a large number of Liberal Roman Catholics would secede from Rome, and join the Church of England.

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when we find that the Holy See dare not, in issuing so important a judgment as this, take advantage of the powers conferred on the Papacy by the Vatican Council, and claim the privilege of Infallibility, even in this particular matter of faith. The redoubtable Vatican Council placed in the hands of the Popes a double-edged weapon, which they are afraid to use, lest in trying to injure others with it they should hurt themselves. When the Pope is or is not Infallible, therefore, no one knows; nor does he, apparently, know himself.

As in the case of Cardinal Wiseman, the last eighteen months of Cardinal Vaughan's primacy were clouded by the effects of steadily increasing ill-health. Twice, indeed, auxiliary bishops were appointed to help him in the heavy work of the arch-diocese. The first of these was Dr. Brindle, formerly an Army chaplain in Egypt, and afterwards Bishop of Nottingham. The second was Monsignor the Hon. Algernon Stanley, a convert, who had resided much at Rome. Finally, as the end approached, Cardinal Vaughan returned to his beloved Mill Hill, the missionary college near London, which had been entirely established and endowed by his exertions when a young man. Whatever may be thought, written, or said of Cardinal Vaughan in criticism of his episcopal capabilities, it cannot be denied that he has left behind him two enduring monuments

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in the Westminster Cathedral[1] and St. Joseph's College, Mill Hill.

Although he had always lived a strict and almost ascetic life, Cardinal Vaughan gave Londoners a poor impression of himself by his habit of constantly appearing at public and private functions resplendent in purple and scarlet robes. He did this, presumably, to call attention to the importance of his office, and as a kind of advertisement for his Church, but it produced a bad effect, wanting, as it was, in good taste. To such an extent did the Cardinal insist always on standing on his dignity, that at a certain Royal Academy banquet, he requested the President to come down-stairs to receive him on his arrival, an honour accorded only to royal guests. To the surprise of many present, the President acceded to this unusual demand, and welcomed him in the same fashion as he did the Prince of Wales.[2] These

[1] Cardinal Vaughan, however, who was not an authority on architecture, slightly hampered the architect of the Cathedral by giving him constant advice on the subject of its building that was not calculated to diminish the difficulties with which Mr. Bentley was beset.

[2] It is said that on one occasion, when Cardinal Vaughan went to pay a visit to a friend in the country, the Colonel of a regiment stationed in the neighbourhood actually ordered out the regimental band, and made them play 'See, the Conquering Hero Comes,' when Vaughan arrived. The matter was reported to the War Office. Strange to say, the Colonel was not a Roman Catholic.

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eccentricities on the part of Vaughan contrasted unfavourably with the behaviour of Cardinal Manning, who, on going to a garden-party at Marlborough House, in company with a grandly-arrayed prelate of his own communion, was asked by this bishop why he was not better dressed. 'There is no necessity for me,' replied Manning, 'to appear as you do, because, you see, they know *me!*'

Cardinal Vaughan was the head of a Roman Catholic family remarkable for the number of its clerical members. His uncle, Dr. William Vaughan, was Bishop of Plymouth; five of his brothers were priests, one of whom was an archbishop; four of his sisters were nuns; and amongst his cousins were several priests and nuns. One of his brothers, Monsignor John Vaughan, edited certain papers of the Cardinal, after whose death they were published under the title of *The Young Priest: Conferences on the Apostolic Life.*

Of the many modern Italian cults and devotions of his religion Cardinal Vaughan was a strong supporter. He was a devout client of St. Joseph, by whose aid he once quickly raised—so he publicly stated—the sum of fifty thousand pounds for the building fund of his new Cathedral! St. Joseph had, in his opinion, married the Blessed Virgin when quite an old man, and acted as her

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guardian, not as her husband. Vaughan was also an ardent relic-worshipper, and his anxiety to procure for England the bones of the Saxon King, Edmund, exposed him to much ridicule. These bones, located at Toulouse, were said to have reached Toulouse mysteriously from East Anglia, and were at the Cardinal's direction brought to Arundel, and deposited there, after a religious ceremony of extraordinary magnificence had been celebrated in their honour.[1] Some unkind antiquary, however, took the simple course of writing to *The Times*, exposing the weakness of the case for the relics.

Cardinal Vaughan died between eleven and twelve o'clock on Friday night, June 19, 1903. On the Monday following, in the columns of the *Daily Chronicle*, were published two criticisms of the late prelate's career, written respectively by 'A Roman Catholic' and 'One of His Clergy.' I take the liberty of quoting some extracts from these memoirs; not merely because they were

[1] 'Early on Friday morning, July 26, 1901, the remains of St. Edmund, King and Martyr, which arrived from Rome on the previous night, were carried from the altar of the FitzAlan chapel to the domestic chapel of Arundel Castle. During the night gold lamps, supplied by the Duke of Norfolk for great occasions, were used to light the altar in the FitzAlan chapel. There was no sacred vigil, but nuns remained at prayer in the chapel till nearly midnight. At 8.30 the ceremony of removal was conducted by Cardinal Vaughan,' etc.

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amongst the best obituary notices published, but also because their more experienced writers in the main adopt much the same views as those expressed by myself in regard to certain traits of the Cardinal's character, and to certain of the chief episodes in his career—

'After his return to England Father Vaughan joined the Community of the Oblates of St. Charles, founded at Bayswater by Manning in 1857. Before going to Bayswater, Vaughan was appointed Vice-President of Old Hall, where he came into close touch with the late Dr. W. G. Ward. . . . Vaughan and Ward became fast friends; they were both afterwards ardent partisans of the Ultramontane party, and violent opponents of Dr. Newman and the "Intellectuals." Their zeal in what most intelligent Catholics now admit (and Manning lived to admit) was a bad cause, drew from Montalembert, in 1869, the famous remark (in a letter to Mr. A. M. P. de Lisle): "How unfathomable are the designs of God in allowing such oracles as Dr. Ward, Mr. Vaughan, and others, to be the representatives of Catholic intelligence in the eyes of that immense Anglo-Saxon race which is so evidently intended to cover the whole modern world!"[1] . . .

'Unintellectual himself, Cardinal Vaughan re-

[1] Of Vaughan's friend, Dr. Ward, it was aptly said that 'he would sacrifice Christianity itself to a syllogism.'

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garded any expression of intellectuality with suspicion, if not dislike, and set himself to repress it. This repressive policy was most effectively carried out in regard to the Catholic Press. Two attempts have been made within the last five years to carry on Catholic papers, which should be really independent organs of educated lay opinion; the papers in question were the *Weekly Register* and the *New Era*. Both were practically crushed out of existence by Cardinal Vaughan at the instigation of the Jesuits, and a bigoted section of the Secular clergy, although they received the warm support of large numbers of the clergy and laity.[1] . . . The painful case of the late Dr. St. George Mivart brought prominently before the public the tactlessness of Cardinal Vaughan. No Catholic would dispute the right or duty of a bishop to take notice of such articles as those which Dr. Mivart had written. But there are right and wrong ways of doing things. A man who had done yeoman service in the cause of Catholicism for years, who was long past seventy, whose health was broken, and his intellectual perception impaired, deserved at least some consideration, might at least have been

[1] Cardinal Manning, however, it must be remembered, was equally hostile to a 'free Catholic Press,' as witness his attacks upon the *Rambler*, the *Home and Foreign Review*, and the *Westminster Gazette*.

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tenderly and gently reasoned with. But the opposite course was taken. . . . The same astonishing want of tact was displayed in the incredibly foolish letter on the occasion of Queen Victoria's death. There was no reason why a requiem mass should not have been sung in London as it was at Cape Town; although the funeral mass in which the name of the deceased person is mentioned cannot be said for a non-Catholic, the mass for all the departed can be, and is commonly said for the "special intention" of the repose of a non-Catholic deceased. But the English people would have cared very little about the omission of a requiem mass, had some notice been taken in Catholic churches of the Queen's death, and they would probably have remained indifferent, had not the Cardinal gone out of his way to explain the omission in a manner insulting to her Majesty's memory. . . .

'In his relations with his clergy Cardinal Vaughan was not happy. He was not at all popular, not loved as a bishop. I believe he got on better at Salford than at Westminster. . . . Few of his priests knew him, and he knew fewer. We all felt that we were not wanted, and on occasions of reception, the clergy, with the exception of certain officials and the family clique, were conspicuous by their absence. And yet, with those with whom he was momentarily

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in direct contact he could be affable, if abrupt. But that was his manner. In the ecclesiastical ceremonies it was the same. Of gracious aspect and of a handsome face, as soon as he moved he lost all dignity.

'It is generally said that Cardinal Vaughan put us back fifty years. That is true;[1] but we must not forget that he did so under an influence that remains, and will put us back further unless it be resisted. Life is growth, not retrogression; though sometimes it be necessary to cut away what has grown amiss, and remove influences that are opposed to its true strength. . . .

'"I must hasten back,"[2] said the late Cardinal, "to begin my gigantic work of converting thirty millions of my fellow-countrymen." It was this spirit of programme-making that, unconsciously of course, caused him over and over again to mislead the Holy See, until at last at Rome they came as they knew him to mistrust him altogether as a wise counsellor. He did, however, when under wise influences, prevent Rome from making a mistake in the matter of Anglican Orders. . . . If he had wise men round him, he would go their

[1] I cannot think so. The writer does not take into account Cardinal Vaughan's allowing and encouraging Roman Catholics to go to the Universities. It was Cardinal Manning who put the Church back, not Vaughan.

[2] From Rome.

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way; if flashy men, who flattered him to gain their own ends, then he would follow them. Look, for instance, at the muddle he made over the bones of St. Edmund. . . .

'Cardinal Vaughan's desires and intentions were upright; and I do not think he had one ounce of guile or of diplomatic cunning in his nature. In fact, all his faults and many mistakes came from an enthusiastic and emotional nature, not from cool calculation and calm deliberation. He was by nature impetuous. . . . His life was strewn with many wrecks and the broken hearts of men who were wasted in carrying out his futile projects. Unless a thing was a success at once, he could not make it one. Quite un-English, he had no staying power;[1] and in this, I dare say, the Spanish strain came out in his blood. Visionary, his best works have been left to others. One monument he does leave behind him, and that is the cathedral at Westminster; but, oh! at what a cost! . . .

'Cardinal Vaughan was somewhat prone to ostentation, and eager for a showy and external

[1] This is, surely, inaccurate. Cardinal Vaughan's personal exertions and privations, endured when travelling in South and Central America and elsewhere, to procure funds for Mill Hill College, showed that he possessed considerable stamina of no mean order. Neither the College, nor the Cathedral, moreover, was 'a success at once.' But for the Cardinal's 'staying power' neither could have become a *fait accompli.*

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success; in this he was the antithesis of Manning. There could be no better example of the contrast between the two men than their respective policies in regard to the new cathedral. Manning declared that the site which had been secured at Westminster should never be built upon until the debts of God's poor were provided for. Cardinal Vaughan drained the resources of the diocese, and sacrificed the interests of the poor missions to build a cathedral, which is likely to prove a white elephant and a severe tax on the diocese for many years to come, although as a work of art it is worthy of the highest praise, and has won from one of the most distinguished living critics the tribute that it is the finest building which has been built in the world since the fifteenth century.'

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CHAPTER IX

CONVERSIONS AND SECESSIONS

IN this chapter, I propose to furnish a list of the most notable men and women who have joined, and left, the Roman Catholic Church, in England, since the genesis of the Oxford Movement; and to make some remarks upon the vexed question as to whether Rome is gaining ground, or not, in England and Wales. Converts to Rome have been drawn from all ranks of society, but principally from the upper class. Statistics reveal that but few recruits are obtained from the ranks of the poor; whilst, on the other hand, the number of the secessions from the Church amongst the lower classes is very large. Moreover, the annual number of conversions to Romanism is not increasing, notwithstanding the rise in the population, and there seems no prospect of a recurrence of that Roman Catholic revival which marked the middle of Elizabeth's reign, or the latter days of the Oxford Movement. From about the year 1842 until

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about 1862, a period of some twenty years, was the golden day of the Roman Catholic revival, since which the conversions have declined as regards both quality and quantity. That most of Rome's recruits in England are enlisted from the ranks of the High Church party is a common error, for figures show that this is not the case. It is clear that, for a short time prior to his reception into the Roman Church, an Anglican must naturally be holding views of an advanced nature, as he becomes gradually more inclined towards Roman Catholicism; but this bare fact does not necessarily identify him as a consistent supporter of Ritualism. It is true, of course, that Ritualism does provide Rome with many recruits, but many refrain from taking the plunge. The reason is obvious. The most extreme, secretly or perhaps openly, holding all the Roman Catholic doctrines, without being bound down by the Roman discipline, are disinclined to abandon their easier system in favour of one more severe.

I append below my list of notable converts—

Cardinal Newman; Lady Georgiana Fullerton; the Hon. Colin Lindsay; Sir John Simeon; Princess Mary Liechtenstein (*née* Fox); Sir J. Stuart Knill; the Hon. and Rev. George Ignatius Spencer; Sir George Bowyer; Monsignor the Hon. George Talbot; the third Marquis of Bute; Lady Butler (Elizabeth Thompson); Lord

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Brampton; Minna, Duchess of Norfolk; the eighth Earl of Denbigh; Lord Archibald Douglas; Lord Emly; Sir Charles Hallé; Lady Herbert of Lea; the second Earl of Gainsborough; Admiral of the Fleet Lord Walter Kerr, G.C.B.; Lord Lyons; Lord Francis Godolphin Osborne; the Marquis of Ripon; the Hon. Algernon Stanley, bishop-auxiliary; Lord William Nevill; the twelfth Earl of Devon; the seventh Earl of Albemarle; the fourth Earl of Orford; the sixth Earl of Abingdon; Sir David Hunter Blair, O.S.B.; Sir Philip Rose; Lady Sykes; Flora, Duchess of Norfolk; Coventry Patmore; Charles Santley; Sir Henry Bellingham; Dr. Graham, Bishop of Plymouth; Richard Simpson; T. W. Allies; the Rev. Frederick Faber; the Rev. William Lockhart; Dr. Richard Coffin, Bishop of Southwark; Sir Vincent Corbett; W. G. Ward; the Rev. E. Purbrick, S.J.; the Rev. J. D. Dalgairns; Kenelm Henry Digby; Canon Oakley; the Rev. Richard Stanton; the Rev. Albany James Christie, S.J.; the Rev. Ambrose St. John; the Rev. Ignatius Grant, S.J.; Richard Bagot; Henry and Robert Wilberforce; Professor St. George Mivart; the Rev. W. H. Anderdon, S.J.; the Rev. Frederick Antrobus; Thomas Arnold; Monsignor A. S. Barnes; Aubrey Beardsley; the Rev. H. D. Ryder, D.D.; Serjeant Bellasis; J. C. M. Bellew; the

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Rev. H. Sebastian Bowden; the Rev. J. E. Bowden; the Rev. W. E. Leslie, S.J.; William Maziere Brady; the Rev. T. E. Bridgett; James Grant; James Britten; Dr. Brownlow, Bishop of Clifton; Sir F. C. Burnard; the Rev. Henry Coleridge, S.J.; W. S. Blunt; Augustus Craven; R. E. Dell; John Francis Bentley; Aubrey de Vere; Sir Stephen de Vere; W. G. Palgrave; A. M. P. de Lisle; Canon Estcourt; Canon Joseph Searle; Henry Foley, S.J.; the Rev. R. S. Hawker; the Rev. G. Hopkins, S.J.; Mary Howitt; the Rev. Henry Kerr, R.N. and S.J.; W. S. Lilly; Thomas Longueville; Frederick Lucas; the Rev. B. W. Maturin; the Rev. John Morris, S.J.; the Rev. W. P. Neville; Kegan Paul; A. W. Pugin; the Rev. Luke Rivington; George Rose (Arthur Sketchley); Clement Scott; Adeline Sergeant; J. R. Hope-Scott; the Rev. W. Humphrey, S.J.; Orby Shipley; F. W. Wegg-Prosser; Dr. F. G. Lee; Monsignor Croke Robinson; 'Lucas Malet'; the Rev. Bede Camm, O.S.B.; Edmund Bishop; Monsignor W. H. Manning; Oscar Wilde; the Rev. W. R. Carson; Canon George Akers; Canon Macmullen; Dr. Patterson, Bishop of Emmaus; the Rev. S. B. Gates, O.P.; the Rev. R. H. Benson; Canon Bernard Smith; Cardinal Manning; Charlotte, Duchess of Buccleuch; Lord and Lady Charles Thynne; Mrs. Craw-

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ford; Queen Victoria of Spain; the Rev. Henry Nutcombe Oxenham; the Rev. R. B. G. Osborne; Monsignor the Hon. Gilbert Talbot, D.D.; the eleventh Lord North and Lady North; Alban Lechmere; and Admiral Hammet.

From the above list, it may be noticed, I have omitted the name of the famous Oriental scholar and traveller, Sir Richard Burton, who was, according to his widow's statement, received into the Church of Rome by a young Austrian priest at Trieste. As a matter of fact, the priest (who could not speak English) did not arrive until Burton was speechless and *in extremis*, and the reluctant priest did not put the host into his mouth until he was finally unconscious, if not actually dead.[1] In justice to the priest, it may be mentioned that, on getting Lady Burton's summons to attend her husband, he had consulted his superior as to whether he should obey it, and his superior, after carefully washing his hands of all responsibility, had evasively recommended his subordinate to go to Lady Burton, and to act thenceforward 'as circumstances might direct.' But the whole transaction was in the nature of sacrilege. Sir Richard Burton was not a professing Christian, and his detestation of

[1] The doctor in attendance, and Lady Burton's maid, are both understood to have considered that Burton was a dead man before the arrival of the priest.

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Roman Catholicism was notorious; yet he was buried with the fullest Roman rites. Sir Richard's name is not included in the list of *Converts to Rome*, published by Mr. W. Gordon Gorman. As Mr. Gorman's semi-official book has gone through several editions, this omission is significant.

Another death-bed reception that also created considerable controversy of a painful nature in the Press, was that of the Rev. Robert Stephen Hawker, the Rector of Morwenstow, on the north coast of Cornwall, who was received into the Roman Church at the eleventh hour, when it was contended by some of his friends he was hardly capable of comprehending the real nature of his actions. It is, however, believed that Hawker had for several years been at heart almost, if not quite, a Roman Catholic. Yet another very 'late' reception was that of Oscar Wilde, at Paris, where he died, and lies buried; and one more was that of the Rev. Dr. F. G. Lee, of Lambeth.

It was once rashly asserted in print, during Cardinal Vaughan's primacy, that the average number of men, women, and children in England and Wales going annually over to Rome reaches a total of ten thousand. These figures were, of course, too preposterous even for criticism. Rome's English recruits during the last quarter of a century have barely averaged, I should

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calculate, some three hundred a year, and this total is counterbalanced by the large number of deserters. Many of the converts, too, go over without their minds being fully made up, and after experiencing an unhappy period in their new creed, return whence they came—sadder but wiser. Others are what is known as 'marriage converts,' and go over simply to please their wives or husbands—as the case may be—and thus avoid the troubles and difficulties occasioned by what is known as a 'mixed marriage.' Occupied as they are with arduous parochial duties, English Roman Catholic priests do not all make much attempt to win converts, and do not, therefore, fill their nets so full as they might. Converts from Protestantism, moreover, are not received with open arms by all hereditary members of their new religion; but generally with marked coldness, and often with absolute rudeness. The newcomer is looked down upon as 'only a 'vert,' and as one who has not held the 'advantages' of being a 'born Catholic.'[1] On one notable occasion I actually heard a popular preacher

[1] It is fair to mention that this unyielding attitude has never been adopted by the English Jesuits, who have been proud to enrol many converts, including ex-parsons, among their ranks; among whom I note the names of Robert Persons, Edmund Campion, Henry Garnet, Albany Christie, Ignatius Grant, Henry Kerr, W. G. Palgrave, Henry Foley, John Morris, W. H. Anderdon, Henry Coleridge, and W. Humphrey.

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declare from a Kensington pulpit that a convert no matter how virtuous, was bound to spend a fairly long time in purgatory, in expiation of his, or her, former heresy. Roman Catholic ladies are often energetic convert-hunters, and belong almost always to the Ultramontane school, abhorring 'Liberal Catholicism' nearly as keenly as they do Protestantism, and in some English missions they carry information secretly to the priest concerning the doings, or sayings, of any member of the congregation known to be suspected of liberal ideas.

Of well-advertised conversions to Roman Catholicism the world is constantly hearing a good deal; of unobtrusive secessions it hears little. The consequence of this is, that it has become a common fallacy to suppose that but few Romanists quit their Church. As a matter of fact, nothing can be more erroneous than this supposition. So great is the leakage, that all the progress effected by Rome in England since the Oxford Movement has, numerically speaking, been counterbalanced by the stream of secessions, which has not been confined to the upper class, but has extended to the lower, and the middle, as well. Among the clergy, the number of secessions is not very large; but this is due to the circumstance that, before a priest can be ordained, he has to undergo so severe and searching an ordeal within a seminary,

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or monastery, that should he entertain any latent doubts about the truth of the Roman dogmas, these doubts will soon be discovered and he will find out that he has mistaken his vocation.

During the last quarter of a century or so, many prominent men and women have seceded from Rome in England, of whom the following are among the chief: Monsignor A. Wells, LL.D.; Joseph MacCabe, O.S.F.; Lady O'Hagan (*née* Towneley); the second Lord O'Hagan; Dr. Washington Sullivan; Sir Arthur Conan Doyle; the Rev. Arthur Galton; Dr. T. G. Law; the Rev. W. E. Addis; Dr. Leopold Klein; Charles Hargrove; the Rev. James Waring; the Rev. J. M. Capes; the Rev. William Roberts; the Rev. A. W. Hutton; Lady Florence Dixie; the Rev. J. B. MacGovern; and the Rev. de Lacy O'Learey.

This list, which does not include, it must be remembered, Irish, Scottish, or Colonial secessionists, may seem small when compared with that of the converts, printed above, but I have not—as in the previous list—traced so far back, in point of time, as the Oxford Movement. Of the secessionists here mentioned several have earned a brilliant literary reputation, and of none of them has the sincerity of his or her motives in leaving the Church of Rome ever been questioned. Mr. Joseph MacCabe has written much; his *Twelve*

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Years in a Monastery, a record of his experiences as a Franciscan friar and priest, being widely known. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's writings are world-famous. Mr. Arthur Galton has published an excellent biography of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, and under the title of *Our Attitude towards English Roman Catholics and the Papal Court* has given us a clear and succinct history of Rome in England down to the period of the Emancipation Act. Monsignor Wells was noted for the munificence with which he lavished large sums of money upon the building of monastic houses and churches, with the result that he left the Church of Rome quite a poor man. Mr. W. E. Addis was co-editor with Thomas Arnold[1] (father of Mrs. Humphry Ward) of the *Catholic Dictionary*. Dr. Law,[2] an Oratorian, was the leading authority on the history of the Roman Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth. Lady O'Hagan was senior co-heiress of the last male member of the ancient family of Towneley, of Towneley. Her elder son, the second Lord O'Hagan, died in the Boer War. Dr. Washington Sullivan (of whose abilities Cardinal Manning held a high opinion) was a preacher of great popu-

[1] Arnold left the Roman Church for a time, but eventually returned to it.

[2] Messrs. Law, Addis, Galton, and Hutton were, once, priests at the Brompton Oratory.

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larity and renown, and is now a distinguished advocate of Rationalism. Mr. William Roberts was a nephew of Cardinal Manning. Messrs. O'Learey and Waring were active members of the Redemptorist Order.

The Church of Rome well comprehends the necessity of washing her dirty linen at home, and conceals, as much as possible, from the outside world all news relating to secessions from her ranks. When a well-known person is announced to have left the Roman fold, an excuse is always ready. If the seceder be a priest, then he has abandoned his holy calling owing to the malign influence either of wine or women. If he be a layman, then he is sure to have become either immoral or insane. If he be one who was originally a convert to Romanism, then it is given out that he was never really a Catholic, but was received into the Church without being adequately instructed. This last excuse is a common one, and is, nine times out of ten, deliberately untrue.

The advance of education is the most formidable foe in the path of the progress of Rome in England. Half the secessions are due, directly or indirectly, to the increased facilities which all classes now possess of acquiring knowledge. As years roll on, moreover, the plainer become the unfortunate results of the action of the Vatican

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Council in proclaiming Papal Infallibility.[1] The development of certain modern cults and devotions forms another awkward obstacle. Mariolatry (as specially exemplified in the novel notion of the Virgin's corporeal presence in the Sacrament of the Altar), the cult of St. Joseph, the cult of St. Anthony of Padua, and the tedious rigmarole of the Rosary, are all conducive towards forcing thoughtful people out of the Church. The development in its most extreme form of the dogma of purgatory forms another stepping-stone to secession. The enormous sums of money spent by the priesthood in saying masses for the dead, money (usually at the charge of five shillings a mass) which comes out of the pockets of the laity, is the cause of widening discontent. Members of families, who find themselves severely hit financially, owing to the sums bequeathed away from them by their parents to the priests for saying requiems, begin to question whether God's pardons can, after all, be bought for cash, and eventually begin to disbelieve altogether in the Papal dogma of purgatory. But, in England, this scandal does not assume such grave proportions as in Ireland, where it is responsible for so much of the poverty and

[1] 'A vast number of men and women pass quietly from Rome every year. When I was a priest, I *saw* them leave' (J. MacCabe).

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misery existing among the Roman Catholic lower classes.

It is, perhaps, a regrettable circumstance that many English ex-priests are prone to marry rather soon after their secession from Rome. There is, of course, not the faintest reason why they should not marry as much as anybody else—as in marrying they break no divine law, but merely an ecclesiastical rule—save this, that Romanists are only too glad to question the motives of seceding priests, and are delighted if they can allege marriage as the cause of their departure.

'Only those who have actually been subjected to the ordeal can realize how hard a trial it is to secede from the communion of a faith so superbly organized and so far-reaching in every detail as is this Church of Rome. To do so, is to discontinue devoted friendships; to sever firm and faithful ties; to dim the memory of so many time-honoured recollections; to embark in a frail boat upon the tempestuous seas that wash between the floating ship and the far-off shore; to break at one blow the links binding together the old life and the present life; to see dissolved before the fleeting vision, in a moment, the day-dreams of a life, and to land eventually in a strange country, there to seek new customs, new friends, a new future, and a new creed.'

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But many a one who has undergone the agony of such an ordeal, acting only upon the impulse of his conscience, and seeking thoughtfully to find elsewhere, in the place of Romanism, a creed whose simpler tenets are more in accord with Reason, has endured to realize the truth and consolation contained in the splendid words of Tennyson—

'Perplext in faith, but pure in deeds,
At last he beat his music out;
There lives more faith in honest doubt,
Believe me, than in half the creeds.

He fought his doubts and gather'd strength;
He would not make his judgment blind;
He faced the spectres of the mind
And laid them: thus he came at length

To find a stronger faith his own;
And Power was with him in the night,
Which makes the darkness and the light,
And dwells not in the light alone.'[1]

[1] Lord Tennyson, it need hardly be mentioned, was very far removed indeed from favouring Romanism; but it is noteworthy that, since the Reformation, many famous English poets and dramatists have been Roman Catholics, among whom have been—H. Constable, Dryden, Crashaw, Habington, Massinger, T. Moore, Pope, Father Southwell, Coventry Patmore, Aubrey de Vere, Hawker, Cardinal Newman, Faber, and Alfred Austin.

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CHAPTER X

THE MONASTIC REVIVAL

PUBLIC attention has recently been called to the revival of monachism in Great Britain, owing to the action of the French Republic in expelling or suppressing the Religious Orders, many of whose members have, in consequence, crossed the Channel and set up for themselves in Protestant England. With the status of these new arrivals in our midst I do not propose to deal, but shall confine myself to commenting generally upon the establishment of religious houses (for men only) since the period of the Emancipation Act. It is noteworthy, nevertheless, that this recent French invasion has materially helped monasticism in England, not for the first, but the second time, during the last century and a quarter, for it was the outbreak of the great French Revolution which enabled the Benedictines and others to open houses in the reign of George III.—the first monasteries and convents to be established anywhere since the reign of Mary Tudor.

At the time of the Dissolution of the Monasteries by Henry VIII., all the great Religious

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Orders, excepting the Servites, were represented in England. Mitred abbots had a seat in the House of Peers, and to be the head of a wealthy abbey was to rank as a person of no little importance in pre-Reformation days. In England and Wales, at the Dissolution, the Austin Canons had about two hundred and five houses, the Canons Regular having about one hundred and seventy houses, and the Præmonstratensians about thirty-five; the Dominicans about fifty-seven; the Franciscans about sixty-four; the Cistercians about one hundred; the Carthusians some eight or nine; the Carmelites about fifty-two; and the Benedictines about one hundred and eighty-five. The Cistercian monasteries were, as a rule, situated amid beautiful scenery, since (as the monks eat no flesh meat) it was necessary for them to be near the sea, or a river, in order to get good fishing. The ruins of Tintern, Beaulieu, Netley, Quarr, Rievaulx, Furness, Medmenham, Jervaux, and Fountains serve to remind one of the past glories of this ascetic Order.

In England, once more, at the date of writing, all the above Orders are represented, although in nothing like such numbers as they were prior to the Dissolution. Of the Benedictine houses, the finest are Belmont, Downside, and Ampleforth.[1]

[1] These monasteries belong to the old English congregation: others, houses of the Order, but belonging to foreign branches,

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The Cistercians have a large abbey, built by the elder Pugin, near Whitwick, in Charnwood Forest. The best of the Dominican establishments is at Haverstock Hill, N.W. In their monastery of St. Hugh, at Partridge Green, Sussex, the Carthusians possess one of the most splendid religious houses ever erected in Europe. The principal house of the (Capuchin) Franciscans is at Pantasaph, North Wales. The Præmonstratensian Canons are settled at Storrington, Sussex. The Carmelites (Discalced) have a fine chapel attached to their abode in Church Street, Kensington. With the Jesuit houses I shall deal later.

One of the most rare and striking examples of a Religious Order, actively employed in carrying out some useful work, is to be found in the Benedictine Abbey of Downside, Somersetshire. Attached to the Abbey, and immediately under the direction of the monks, is a large public school for the education of boys of the upper class, whose care and management fully occupies the time of the Benedictine brotherhood. Situated in a picturesque part of Somersetshire, lying close to the pretty villages of Chilcompton and Midsomer Norton, and distant about twelve miles from Bath, this Benedictine Abbey of St. Gregory stands high up amid surroundings eminently suitable to an

are situated at Ramsgate, Appuldurcombe (I. of W.), Buckfastleigh, Erdington, and Fort Augustus (N.B.).

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establishment which vividly recalls the Middle Ages. Originally located at Douai, St. Gregory's scholars quitted France, owing to the Revolution, and after a short residence at Acton Burnell, in Shropshire, proceeded to Downside, late in the reign of George III. Since then, numerous additions and improvements have been made to the early building, but the old house is still the most interesting portion. A magnificent chapel is in course of completion, and bids fare to rank as one of the finest examples of modern Gothic in Great Britain. In but few of our leading public schools are the boys better educated, or generally looked after, than at Downside, where the tutorial system is excellent, whilst the discipline (less severe than that obtaining at most public schools) contains none of the elements of 'espionage' habitual to those under the supervision of the Society of Jesus. The popularity of Downside among its scholars is exemplified by the strong *esprit de corps* animating its old boys, wherever found, all the world over. Belonging to the monks there is a fine library, containing many valuable manuscripts and missals.[1] The monks' cells are warm, clean, well-lighted, and well-built chambers, having even bath-rooms near them: an example that might well be followed by certain other of the Religious

[1] In pre-Reformation times, it used to be said that an abbey without a library was like a castle without an armoury.

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Orders, notorious for their uncleanly and insanitary habits.

Quite a different type of monastery to Downside is St. Hugh's, Parkminster, Sussex, belonging to the Carthusian Order. It is, at the time of writing, the only house in England belonging to this ascetic brotherhood. In Downside, we have monachism revealed in its most active and industrious form, existing in close touch with the external world ; in St. Hugh's Charterhouse we have a specimen of purely contemplative monasticism, whose inmates, 'the world forgetting and by the world forgot,' lead lives of complete seclusion. Of this Order, it is the proud boast of its monks that it has never (unlike all the other pre-Reformation communities) been reformed, for the good reason that it has never needed reformation. Only the Trappists are supposed to endure almost as rigorous a rule as the Carthusians, but considering that the Trappists vary the monotony by undertaking active agricultural labours, I think that the Carthusian rule is certainly harder of the two. Eating no flesh meat, having no music at their services, and speaking but seldom in the course of the week, are some of the observances which mark the Carthusian rule.

Carthusian monasteries are not numerous, because each house is always constructed on a large and independent scale; hence the small number

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of their houses flourishing in England at the time of the Dissolution, when the London Charterhouse offered such strenuous resistance to the wrath of the King (Henry VIII.), who had its Prior executed, and hanged or starved many of its monks. Each priest of the Order has a residence all to himself, so that a whole Charterhouse or Chartreuse must necessarily cover a good deal of ground. These quiet little houses consist of two rooms, a tiny garden, and a kind of storeroom. The lay-brothers' cells are arranged like those of other Orders. There is also a guest-house; for the hospitality of the Carthusians is proverbial, although no visitor is permitted to stay longer than ten days at a time.

It was on a beautiful autumnal evening that I first went to the Sussex Charterhouse of St. Hugh. I had driven up through the woodland in a dog-cart, the rustic driver of which, as he saw me disappear through the gateway of the monastery, gave me a parting glance, as much as to say, 'I shall never see you again!' Once inside the Charterhouse, I seemed to have entered another world. The spotless whiteness of the huge building, the long cloisters, the tall spire of the chapel tapering in the mystic twilight towards the darkening sky, and above all, the sombre silence which reigned around, impressed me strangely with the solemnity of my new surroundings. By seven o'clock, I was

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(like the community) in bed, but was called by a monk, carrying a lantern, in good time for the midnight service. Visitors present at this service, lasting over two hours, are placed in a lofty gallery overlooking the choir. The scene below which meets their eye is striking in the extreme. The beautiful chapel is dimly illuminated by the monks' lanterns, placed by their stalls. There is no music, and the peculiar plain chants sung by the brethren give forth weird sounds. The monks' faces are practically hidden in their cowls, and as their white-robed bodies bend and bow, and even at times lie prostrate, during the service, the effect is as if the grave had for the nonce given up its dead, and had filled the chapel with sad sepulchral forms moving to and fro in the flittering lantern light. On nights when the moon is shining, the scene becomes more curious still, and the pallid beams piercing through the coloured windows flood the chapel with their silver rays. 'Are these men alive, or are they spectres risen from the dead?' asks the awed spectator in his gallery.

The service over, the tired monks return to resume their broken slumbers in the cells,[1] but they are back again for Mass before the outside world is

[1] On cold winter nights this service is a most trying ordeal. The return to the cells, and their cheerless pallets, after the warmer chapel, is much felt by the brethren, weak from want of food.

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thinking of rising. That such a system must tell upon its devotees, needs no doctor to explain, and the minds of many of the monks slowly but surely give way under the strain.

A small community chapel in the monastery is famous for its life-size mural paintings, which represent in a most realistic manner the sufferers of the Carthusians under Henry VIII., namely, the Priors Augustine Webster, John Houghton, and Robert Lawrence; brothers Richard Bere, John Davey, William Exmewe, Thomas Green, William Horne, William Greenwood, Thomas Johnson, Humphrey Middlemore, Sebastian Newdigate, Walter Pierson, Thomas Redyng, John Rochester, Robert Salt, James Walworth, and Thomas Scriven. As at Downside, there is a fine library here, in which many of the books were bound, or re-bound by a lay-brother, about whom a pathetic story is told. A Frenchman by birth, it was his ardent wish to return to France. He was told that he might do so, as soon as he had finished binding the books. With feverish energy he toiled on at his task, but his exertions injured his health, and when he had only a volume or two to complete, he fell ill and died. Whether his remains were taken to France, or (as is far more likely) were buried in a nameless grave within the little cemetery at Parkminster, I omitted to inquire.

The community at Parkminster is mainly

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composed of foreigners. But few Englishmen become Carthusians. Of those Englishmen who enter as novices, the majority never reach the final stage, and leave to join other Orders, or the Secular clergy. In contrast to Downside, and most monasteries, the Carthusians hardly ever dine together in the refectory. Their food is handed into their cells on a tray. At meal-time, therefore, these silent brethren enjoy no relaxation of their rule.

Enveloping this grim Carthusian monastery, there exists a charm most fascinating to all who come within its walls from the world outside. It is a charm, nevertheless, more full of pathos than of joy; for all appreciation of the splendour of the building, and the asceticism of its inmates, is overpowered by the sense of the severity of the rule. The absolute monotony of it all seems so hopeless. In this spiritual prison nearly all its inhabitants are serving life-sentences. One wishes they would lead more useful lives. At St. Hugh's, time does not exist. All reckonings are vain; days and nights drift regularly away like the ebb and flow of a rolling tide. But the benevolence of the brethren remains unimpaired. It is said that they help the Protestant poor in the neighbourhood; and their donations to Roman Catholic charities are (or were before their suppression in France) famous throughout the world, owing

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to the enormous income accruing to the Order from the manufacture and sale of its liqueur, Chartreuse.

I quitted St. Hugh's white courts and cloisters, my visit over, with mingled feelings. I found myself returning from poetic mediævalism to the prosaic life of our day. As I went out of the gateway, the porter-monk shook me by the hand, and (speaking in French) hoped that even if we were never to meet again on earth, we should surely meet in heaven. I had arrived at eventide, and it was eventide when I left. The sun had just sunk to rest behind the distant tree-tops. Night's lengthening shadows were cast across the path by the boughs, as I wended my solitary way towards the station. I seemed slowly to be nearing the land of the living after rising from a city of the dead. At the parting of the roads I turned to throw one last glance at the monastery, standing so stately and so lonely, its walls serenely glistening in the gold and crimson radiance reflected by the after-glow of the sunken sun. I proceeded; and St. Hugh's was lost to view; yet, again was I arrested, this time by sounds echoing through the woodland from the monastery. It was the clamour of the bells summoning the brethren to prayer. In a few more minutes, I reached the station, the train came in, and I was being whirled away towards London.

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It is undoubtedly a pity that England has now become the home of many minor Religious Orders not in existence before the Reformation. Against the return of most of the historic Orders, such as the Carmelites, Cistercians, Canons Regular, and Carthusians, we have not so strong a case, so long as their houses are kept in proper care. But the presence of the Christian Brothers,[1] the Franciscans, the Dominicans,[2] the Servites, and all the minor Orders could well be dispensed with, whilst all the smaller Benedictine houses might with advantage be suppressed. When monks are living away from their head-quarters, working on small missions, they are apt to relax their rule, and often give way to intemperate and other bad habits, and cause a great deal of trouble in consequence. These criticisms need not, as I have said, apply to such an Order as that of Mount Carmel, whose chapel at Kensington is so famous for its music.

After the Dissolution under Henry VIII., the

[1] In the year 1897, in France, no less than fifteen members of this Order were sentenced to heavy sentences of imprisonment for criminal offences against their pupils.

[2] The Dominicans were essentially the Order of the Inquisition, of which St. Dominic was the practical founder. When heretics were burnt at least one Dominican friar was present to superintend the arrangements. An *auto da fé* was always looked upon as a great holiday in a Dominican monastery, and even the Jesuits took their novices and pupils to witness one as a great treat.

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Carmelites were only represented in England by a slender succession of missionary priests, the last of whom died about 1840. At the invitation of Cardinal Wiseman, however, they returned to England to live in community, and in 1862 he consecrated their chapel of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and St. Simon Stock,[1] in Church Street, Kensington, in the presence of a distinguished assemblage of priests, including Faber and the future Cardinals Howard and Manning. At Wiseman's special request, a famous man was selected to restore the position of Carmel in England, and to act as the first prior of the new foundation in London. This was Father Augustine Mary, O.C.D., better known by his name in the world of Hermann Cohen. Born in the year 1820, of Hebrew parentage, he speedily won fame in France, under the tutorship of the Abbé Liszt, as a musician. Intoxicated with success, he temporarily abandoned himself to the most mundane of lives. But, a sharp change suddenly came. He repented of his sins, resolved to abandon his profession, and enter a monastery. He selected the Carmelite Order, on account of its strict rule. After distinguishing himself as a preacher, he came over with a small community to London, settling first in Kensington Square,

[1] St. Simon Stock, a native of Kent, was the first official head of the Carmelites in Europe.

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and then in Church Street. On the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war, he went to Berlin, in order to look after the French prisoners-of-war taken thither. As a result of these exertions, he became ill, and died in January 1871. Such was the romantic career of this talented man, who sacrificed his life in the service of others, and who abandoned a most remunerative calling for one of complete poverty. The (Discalced) Carmelites, although not so silent as the Cistercians and the Carthusians, are a very ascetic Order. A midnight service breaks their slumbers as in the Carthusian houses. Their diet, too, is very plain. In musical details they differ. At High Mass they have an exceptionally splendid musical display.

The reformed branch of the Cistercian Order, commonly called the Trappists, possess in their abbey of St. Bernard, Charnwood Forest, an interesting institution. Although commonly reputed the most severe of all the Orders, the Trappists do so much out-door work in the fields and in their gardens, that their rule is not so rigorous and irksome as that of the enclosed Carmelites and Carthusians. Their farming operations at St. Bernard's have been remarkably successful. In spite of their silence, their hands have not been idle. English people, indeed, need not travel so far as the original La Trappe, in order to visit a 'silent' monastery, when they

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have one (or two) here in their midst; they have also a 'silent' convent for women.

In concluding this short sketch of English monasticism, it will be interesting to note the ages of the various Orders. I append, therefore, the table following, comprising the approximate dates of the foundations of the chief monastic Orders in the Latin Church. In calculating these dates, I am aware that valid arguments have been adduced in favour of the greater antiquity of the Augustinian Canons Regular, and of the Carmelites, but I have traced them both back as far as I can find the continuity of their succession unbroken. The Carmelites, indeed, pretend to deduce their descent from the days of Elijah, which is a little absurd, considering that their community is dedicated to 'Our Lady' (of Mount Carmel); whilst the Canons Regular (of the Lateran) claim to have been first enrolled by St. Augustine of Hippo, but they are not lineal descendants of St. Augustine's Canons.

Order.	Founder.	Date of Foundation.
Augustinians (Canons Regular)	—	Eleventh century
,, (Hermits)	—	1265
,, (Præmonstratensians)	St. Norbert	1119
Barnabites	St. Antonio Zaccaria	1533
Benedictines	St. Benedict (a layman)	529
Carmelites	Berthold (a Crusader)	1247

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Order.	Founder.	Date of Foundation.
Carmelites (Discalced)	St. Teresa	1593
Carthusians	St. Bruno	1086
Cistercians [1]	St. Robert	1075
„ (Trappists)	Abbé de Rancé [2]	1662
Christian Brothers	St. Jean Baptist de la Salle	1725
Dominicans	St. Dominic	1216
Franciscans	St. Francis d'Assisi	1209
„ (Capuchins)	Matteo de Bassi	1528
Gilbertines [3]	St. Gilbert of Sempringham	1136
Jesuits	St. Ignatius Loyola	1540
Marists	Père Colin	1818
Oblates of St. Charles	St. Carlo Borromeo	1578
Oratorians	St. Philip Neri	1575
Passionists	St. Paul of the Cross	1737
Redemptorists	St. Alfonso Maria de Liguori	1732
Servites [4]	Some Merchants of Florence	1233
Xaverian Brothers	Theodore Ryken	1846

In this list I have reckoned only from the date of the definite official Papal recognition of each

[1] The Cistercians and Carthusians were offshoots from the Order of St. Benedict.

[2] Armand Jean Le Bouthillier de Rancé died at La Trappe in the year 1700. He was a native of Normandy, and a godson of Richelieu.

[3] This entirely English Order did not survive the Dissolution. It was confined chiefly to the north-east of England.

[4] This Order did not come to England until over six hundred years after its foundation. The founders are canonized.

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Order, and not from the initial coming together of each brotherhood. No Order can really call itself established unless, or until, it receive the Papal sanction. In some cases this was not obtained until many years had elapsed since the primary inception of the brotherhood. That the Benedictines can legitimately claim to rank as the oldest of the Orders, I think need not be questioned. They were the original founders of monachism in Western Europe, and their rule served as a model upon which those of several other Orders came to be based. With the exception of the interesting and unique Order of the Gilbertines, a mediæval community of men and women founded by a native of Lincolnshire, who lived to be a centenarian, none of the above Orders traced its origin to English auspices.[1] The various founders were respectively of Spanish, French, German, and Italian extraction. Several of these men left behind them lasting reputations for piety. Such were Francis of Assisi, Armand de Rancé (a personal friend of our exiled King, James II.), St. Benedict, and St. Philip Neri. The same could hardly be said of the cruel Dominic, the mariolatrous Alfonso de Liguori, and the meddlesome Ignatius Loyola.

That the Redemptorist Order has failed to achieve much success in England is not surprising

[1] The Order of Jesuitesses was founded by an Englishwoman (Mary Ward), but it did not last long.

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when we consider the character of its founder. The writings of Alfonso Maria de Liguori are certainly not calculated to render his English disciples popular. Of his *Glories of Mary*, no strictly faithful translation exists in English that I know of, whilst his *Moral Theology* has not been translated at all. It would, indeed, be impossible to publish and circulate this work in our language, without its vendors speedily receiving the unwelcome attentions of the authorities of Scotland Yard. Its obscenities baffle description. It is sad to reflect that Rome has not only proclaimed Alfonso a Saint, but has also dubbed him a Doctor[1] of the Church. His theories in regard to 'Probabilism' should have been sufficient to debar him from receiving these honours. What is to be thought of a 'Saint' who argues in favour of righteousness of a father living forcibly on the immoral earnings of an unfortunate daughter? No Jesuit, moreover, has defended, expounded, and extolled the arts of equivocation more warmly than has St. Alfonso Maria de Liguori.

Whether the Roman Catholic Church, as a body, does or does not render excessive honours to the Virgin Mary, is a matter which need not

[1] In spite of the fact that one of his anecdotes, recorded in the *Glories of Mary*, has been officially condemned as heretical; namely, that of a head (without a body) receiving the Host from a priest!

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be discussed here; but there can be no doubt that St. Alfonso has personally exceeded all others in his devotion to the 'Mother of God.' The Blessed Virgin, he tells us, is the neck of the Church, and nothing can pass from the head to the body except through that neck. 'At her command, all obey, even God.' Again, he relates how a certain Franciscan Friar, Brother Leo, saw in a dream two ladders descending to earth from heaven. At the top of one, coloured red, stood the Messiah, inviting sinners to ascend into heaven by climbing it; at the top of the other, a white one, stood the Virgin Mary, inviting sinners to win entrance into heaven by climbing up her ladder. All those, according to St. Alfonso, who tried to climb Christ's ladder, slipped down and failed, but all those who tried to climb up by Mary's ladder, ascended successfully into the realms of eternal bliss. In other words, those who seek salvation by the intercession of Jesus Christ cannot obtain it: by the Virgin only are sinners saved.

Modern London, although possessing but very few remains of pre-Reformation buildings, is still reminiscent of its occupation by the Monastic Orders, whose names are perpetuated by the titles of many of its civic streets. Thus, Greyfriars is called after a former Franciscan friary; Blackfriars Bridge is close to the site of an old

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Dominican house; Crutchedfriars is an abbreviation of Crossed-Friars, an Italian Order, which bore a red cross woven in their habits; Austinfriars recalls the Augustinians (Canons Regular); the Minories recalls a convent of nuns dedicated to St. Clare; Whitefriars is a site once occupied by Carmelites; and the Charterhouse was, of course, occupied by Carthusians. Considering the age and size of London, it is sad to reflect how few pre-Reformation churches are still left. The quantity of the survivors is very small. But in Saint Saviour's, Southwark; in Saint Ethelreda's, Ely Place; in Saint Bartholomew's, Smithfield; in Westminster Abbey; in Allhallow's, Barking; in Saint Peter's-ad-Vincula, Tower Green; in St. Margaret's, Westminster; and in Saint John's Chapel within the Tower, London still boasts of a few splendid relics of Norman and mediæval times. Of these, St. Bartholomew's and Westminster Abbey live to bear evidence of the pristine grandeur of the Benedictine Order; whilst St. Ethelreda's has (since 1879) once again been used as a Roman Catholic chapel, being probably the only pre-Reformation church in England (exclusive of private chapels) which has reverted to its former form of worship.[1]

In connection with the remains of the old

[1] Services are now held both in the beautiful church itself and in the sombre crypt beneath it.

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English monasteries, their chapels, and the modern houses often built upon or among their ruins, it has become a frequent custom of late to dignify them by the title of 'Abbey,' no matter what the original foundation may have been. Country houses built on monastic lands, granted to laymen at the Dissolution, are generally called abbeys. In very many of these cases, however, the original building was not the seat of an abbot, but was an ordinary, and perhaps insignificant priory, or convent.

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CHAPTER XI

THE ENGLISH JESUITS

THE famous Society or Company of Jesus was founded by Ignatius Loyola, a Spanish Cavalier, in the reign of (our) King Henry VIII., but the first formal Jesuit mission to this country did not occur till Queen Elizabeth had been seated more than twenty years upon the throne. A stray Jesuit or two had, indeed, visited England before this, but only on a short visit,[1] and not with the intention of immediately establishing a permanent mission here. Founded in Spain, by a Spaniard helped by Spaniards (of the seven original Jesuits five were Spaniards), the Society of Jesus still bears to this day strong internal marks of Spanish influences. The rules of the Society were, and are, far more suited to the Spanish temperament than that of any other nationality, excepting perhaps the Italian. Spaniards and Italians alike have ever played the

[1] Ignatius Loyola, himself, is even said to have spent a short time in London, in about the year 1530 (before the official foundation of his Society).

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predominant part in the government of the Society, whose General has never been an Englishman or a Frenchman. The full importance of these Spanish influences has not been recognized adequately by students of the history of the Order.

The three most famous English members of the Society of Jesus were, curiously enough, contemporaries, and joined it in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. These priests were Edmund Campion, Robert Southwell, and Robert Persons, or Parsons.[1] Of this trio, Father Parsons was famous as a politician; Father Campion as a preacher and dogmatic writer; and Father Southwell as a poet. Of the trio, Robert Parsons alone died in his bed; the other pair were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn. That the English Province of the Society of Jesus does not attract so many capable recruits to its ranks, as it did in its early days, is almost certain; and during the stormy days of Queen Elizabeth and King James I., in addition to the trio mentioned, such men as Henry Garnet, Henry Walpole, Edmund Arrowsmith, John Gerard, Francis Walsingham, Oswald Tesimond, Edward Oldcorne, and Thomas

[1] The account of Fathers Campion and Parsons given by Charles Kingsley in *Westward Ho!* is grotesquely inaccurate. Neither of these Jesuits travelled in Devonshire, where Kingsley introduces them.

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Garnet, were all actively employed, at times, on the English mission. From the death of Robert Parsons down to the era of emancipation, the Jesuit best known in English history was Edward Petre, whose unhappy accession to political power under James II. proved one of the chief incentives towards the ruin of the Stewart cause. Father Petre died, like his patron, an exile in France, although the King and the Jesuit are said never to have met after leaving London, a circumstance which suggests that James had realized, all too late, how fatuous had been his favourite's policy. Since Petre's day, the most distinguished member of the English Province has been Father Stephen Joseph Perry, a great astronomer, and a priest of singular piety and enthusiasm.

I append below a list of the Generals of the Society, with the dates of their terms of office, carried down to the period of the Emancipation Act, in 1829—

St. Ignazio de Loyola,	a Spaniard,	1541–1556;
Diego Laynez,	a Spaniard,	1557–1565;
St. Francisco Borgia[1] (Duke of Gandia)	a Spaniard,	1565–1572;

[1] A great-grandson of Pope Alexander VI. The other canonized Jesuits are Peter Claver, Alfonso Rodriguez, Francis Xavier, Aloysius Gonzaga, Francis of Jerome, John Francis Regis, Stanislas Kostka, John Berchmans, and three 'Japanese Martyrs.'

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Eberherd Mercurian,	a Belgian,	1573–1580;
Claudio Acquaviva,	an Italian,	1581–1615;
Mutio Vitelleschi,	an Italian,	1615–1645;
Vincenzo Caraffa,	an Italian,	1646–1649;
Francesco Piccolomini,	an Italian,	1649–1651;
Alessandro Gottofredi,	an Italian,	1652;
Gosburn Nickel,	a German,	1652–1664;
Paolo Oliva,	an Italian,	1664–1681;
Charles von Voyelle,	a Belgian,	1682–1686;
Terso Gonzalez,	a Spaniard,	1687–1705;
Michael Angelo Tamburini,	an Italian,	1706–1730;
Franz Retz,	a Bohemian,	1730–1750;
Ignazio Visconti,	an Italian,	1751–1755;
Alessandro Centurioni,	an Italian,	1755–1757;
Lorenzo Ricci,	an Italian,	1758–1775;
Thaddeus Bryozowski,	a Pole,	1814–1820;
Aloysio Fortis,	an Italian,	1820–1829.

In 1773, the Society was suppressed by Pope Clement XIV., and during the interval intervening between then and its restoration in 1814, it was ruled by Vicars-General, most of whom were Poles, on account of Poland being one of the few countries whose government did not refuse to receive them, in spite of the Papal prohibition.

The sudden rise and growth of the Society of the Jesuits represents one of the most remarkable incidents in European history. Equally remarkable is the manner in which the Jesuits recovered their old position, after being suppressed by Pope Clement. In 1773, they were officially denounced and dissolved by one Pope, only to be officially restored to their old position by another Pope, in

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1814. In this contradictory attitude of the Holy See we have another example of the futility of the doctrine of the Pope's Infallibility, since it is clear that one of the Bulls issued by one of these Popes must, *ipso facto*, have been erroneous; each cannot have been correct.[1] In 1773—on the Roman Catholic theory—the Holy Ghost inspires the Pope to call the Jesuits by some very harsh names, and to destroy their Society. In 1814 the Holy Ghost inspires the Pope to declare that the Jesuits are little short of angels, and that their restoration is imperative in the interests of Holy Church. Nay more, in the Bull of restoration, the Pope (Pius VII.) declares that he restores the Jesuits 'with the unanimous consent of Christendom.'

That the suppression of the Jesuits by the sagacious Clement XIV. was a most just and salutary measure, and one dictated in the interests not only of his Church, but of the political world at large, cannot be questioned. It was a serious blunder when his weak and misguided successor, bullied and bribed, gave way to their demands for restoration. At the period of their fall, every country in Europe except Russia (and perhaps Prussia) had renounced the Jesuits, who had also worked

[1] Another similar case is that of Galileo. His astronomical theories were condemned as heretical and absurd by Urban VIII., and declared to be accurate and orthodox by Leo XIII.

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much mischief in Asia. Everywhere they had wrought harm to their own religion, but in no country so much as in England. It required, nevertheless, an exceptionally puissant Pope to suppress the Jesuits; this, Clement XIV. undoubtedly was. His premature death was a great loss not only to his Church, but to all Europe. That he was poisoned by the agency of the Jesuits was an opinion firmly held by many residents in Rome at the time, and he himself seems to have held the same view.

During the period of their suppression, the Jesuits found the only European countries still willing to receive them were Russia, Prussia, and Poland. They made Poland their stronghold, and pretending that Clement's Bull did not apply to nations ready to recognize them, appointed Poles to govern their Society. In England, they settled at Stonyhurst, an Elizabethan house, in Lancashire, bequeathed to them by a Roman Catholic squire, and started their now famous school. Among Protestants these Jesuits were generally known as 'Gentlemen from Liége,' and by Roman Catholics they were termed 'Ex-Jesuits,' during the period of suppression. The English Secular clergy were much annoyed at the position assumed by the priests at Stonyhurst,[1] and were not slow in protesting against

[1] As late even as 1843, a Roman Catholic gentleman

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their unwarrantable claims. But the Jesuits, under Father Charles Plowden, found a warm friend in Dr. Milner, who lost no opportunity of fighting on their behalf against his own episcopal colleagues, and against his own clergy.

The Papal Bull restoring the Jesuits to their former position was received with keen regret by the majority of Romanists in England, whose forefathers had suffered so severely on account of the treasons of such men as Fathers Parsons, Garnet, Greenway, Petre, and others. It was, indeed, contended at the time, and, I believe, with a considerable show of right, that the restoration of the Society of Jesus in England was invalid, inasmuch as the Pope did not intend his Bull to apply to countries whose rulers were distinctly opposed to the Jesuits. Had the British Government behaved firmly in the matter, the Jesuit Province in England could again have been crushed, but all that was done officially was to insert certain clauses in the Emancipation Act declaring the presence of Jesuits in Great Britain illegal. No official attempt has ever been made to carry these restrictions into legal operation. In no European country, in consequence, have the Jesuits since led a more peaceful existence

(Ambrose M. P. de Lisle) was not allowed by the Vicar-Apostolic of the Midland District to employ a Jesuit as his private chaplain.

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than in England and Wales, as their prosperous establishments at Old Windsor (Beaumont), St. Bruno's (N. Wales), Preston, Bournemouth, Chesterfield, London (Mayfair), Stonyhurst, and Roehampton [1] tend to prove.

Since the Emancipation Act of 1829, the Jesuits have not attempted openly to interfere in English politics, but have contented themselves chiefly with solidifying their position among their co-religionists, with the object of raising themselves to an eminence of supreme importance among the Roman Catholic clergy employed in Great Britain. In this task, they have had to encounter one formidable rival among the Religious Orders, in the Benedictines. The Jesuits have not indulged in the fallacious views entertained by so many Romanists, as to the probability of England returning shortly to the Roman Catholic fold, and they realize how false have been recent figures relating to the number of conversions. They have acted on the saner principle of trying mainly to keep what they have got. But, although they have avoided politics, the Jesuits have striven to become a power on the English Press. Their literary staff in London [2] keeps itself *au fait* with

[1] At Manresa, Roehampton, they possess a vine considerably larger than that at Hampton Court.

[2] The English Jesuits publish a periodical of their own called *The Month.*

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all that goes on in the world of letters, and loses no chance of attacking any author who deals at all unfavourably with the history or the work of their Society. But, in spite of the vehemence of their diatribes, the malice of their writers and their agents has done the Society little good, and they have generally got the worst of the argument. The verdict of history is dead against the Society, and recent research has cast a lurid light upon the doings of the Jesuits in England during the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., Charles II., and James II.; whilst their audacious but weak attempt to prove that there was no such event as the Gunpowder Plot has met with universal and well-merited ridicule.

It has ever been the ambition of the Jesuits to induce their co-religionists to believe that the Roman Catholic religion was kept alive in England and Wales, during the darkest days of the penal laws, mainly by the exertions of their Society. In fine, they have laboured to demonstrate that, but for the Jesuits, Roman Catholicism would, for a time at any rate, have practically become extinct in England. But this, as a matter of fact, is a very incorrect view of the case, and it was the Jesuits' restless plotting, coupled with their jealousy of the Secular clergy and the Benedictines, that conduced more than anything else towards the ruin of the Roman Catholic cause in

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this country. To their discomfiture, this point has been clearly established by several Roman Catholic writers, such as Charles Dodd, Canon Tierney, Joseph Berington, Sir John Throckmorton, Charles Butler, E. L. Taunton, and Dr. Law.

The history of the Jesuits in England, from their coming over in the reign of Queen Elizabeth to their suppression by Clement XIV., has been ably written by the Rev. E. L. Taunton,[1] a Secular priest. In Father Taunton's pages, he draws emphatic attention to the historical importance of the career of Robert Persons, or Parsons. As the author shows, this indefatigable Jesuit, who supported Spain in nearly all her attacks upon England under Elizabeth, should be regarded as one of the leading politicians of his day: unscrupulous, traitorous, and mendacious though he was. It was the aim of Father Parsons, not only to restore the fallen fortunes of his Church in England, but to re-establish it anew, with its clergy and laity, under the control of his own Society. He wished, in truth, to make the Society of Jesus paramount in the realm of Eng-

[1] *The History of the Jesuits in England* (Methuen, 1901). What is still wanted is a history of the English Province from the period of its suppression, in 1773, down to the present day. Anti-Jesuit books, when written by Roman Catholics, seem to become quickly very scarce and valuable, and it is now quite difficult to get copies of the works of Dodd, Tierney, and Berington.

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land. Happily, he failed signally in this endeavour, and rendered his Society, everywhere, more and more unpopular.

The principal successes of the Jesuits have been gained in the school-room. Their educational system has been acknowledged to be admirable by all parties. By this, I refer only to their methods of imparting instruction, and not to their disciplinary system, which is in many respects most objectionable. By their training of the sons of rich and well-born Roman Catholics, they obtain a power over their pupils which may last throughout life; for the Jesuits make it a rule to keep, so far as is possible, in touch with their 'old boys' after they have left school.[1]

The senior boys at Jesuit schools are usually asked to join religious sodalities, to branches of which they continue to belong after they have left. The chief of these in England is the Sodality of the Immaculate Conception, a branch of the 'Prima Primaria' at Rome. The members of this sodality are all of gentle birth, and the London branch has a pretty little chapel for their exclusive use situated in the Jesuits' house in

[1] An instance of this occurred some years ago when a young Polish prince suddenly disappeared after losing large sums of money at Monte Carlo. His family, after futile inquiries on their own account, eventually asked the Jesuits to aid in the search, and they were not long in discovering that he was living quietly in New South Wales.

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Mount Street, Berkeley Square. Here, during about eight or nine months in the year, the sodalists meet for a monthly communion, and for a special service on Saturday afternoons. These special services are celebrated according to a form drawn up for the private manual used by the sodality, and consists of the recitation of Latin psalms, prayers, litanies, and hymns, repeated and sung in adoration of the Virgin Mary.

Each sodalist must go occasionally, if not always, to a Jesuit priest for confession. The Director of every branch of the sodality is always a Jesuit priest, and although assisted in his labours by a council of lay sodalists, the latter are no more than mere figure-heads, and act as he may direct. The consequences of this policy are, that a large number of the male members of the Roman Catholic aristocracy and plutocracy are kept in close touch with the Jesuits, and are somewhat hindered thereby from identifying themselves with the work of the Secular clergy; for although they are free to hear Mass said, on Sundays and holidays of obligation, in any church they like, they must still repair to Jesuit churches for their monthly communion. The Jesuits, therefore, knew what they were about when they established the Sodality of the Immaculate Conception.[1]

[1] There are other sodalities for men under Jesuit control,

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That the abilities of the average Jesuit, as an individual, have been too highly belauded, cannot be doubted. The very length and severity of the ordeal, which the novice has patiently to undergo prior to ordination in the Society of Jesus, and especially again before he can become Professed of the Four Vows, tend to prevent a really clever man from becoming a Jesuit. What the Jesuits want are pliant priests of average ability, who will (by dint of training) work like mere machines, and upon whose obedience they can thoroughly rely. The Jesuit must always obey. He must never 'ask the reason why.' He must carry out with unswerving fidelity the orders of his superiors.[1] He is a mere tool in the hands of others, unless he reaches an eminent position in the inner ring—as it were—of the Society, a position gained by very, very few members of the English Province. The result is that the Jesuits are, in the main, men of sound but moderate capabilities. Abroad, as in Great Britain, the latter-day Jesuit does not seem to compare favourably, from an intellectual point of view, with his predecessors of the seventeenth and (early part) of the eighteenth centuries.

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but these, it is stated, are (in contrast to that of the Immaculate Conception) intended for mere 'men,' and not for 'gentlemen.'

[1] 'Every member of the Society of Jesus shall be, in the hands of his superiors, as a corpse' (Loyola).

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Their writers and preachers, too, in England, at any rate, are not now noted for their brilliance. The best work of the Society is performed, with less ostentation, in the instruction of the young, and even in England, Stonyhurst and Beaumont have succeeded in turning out many notable men, such as Charles Waterton, Cardinal Vaughan, the Hon. Charles Langdale (admitted as a lay-brother into the Society in his old age), Sir Frederick Weld, Dr. George Oliver, Alfred Austin, Sir Montagu Gerard, R. L. Shiel, R. M. O'Ferrall, Edmund Waterton, Sir George Glynn Petre, and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. Two or three old Stonyhurst boys have, I believe, won the Victoria Cross, and the young architect of the new Liverpool Cathedral was educated at Beaumont.

The Jesuits have been called, in ridicule, 'Apostles of the rich,' because their European labours have been chiefly confined to work among the upper classes, and (unlike other of the Religious Orders) they have not done much good among the poor, hence the sources of the vast store of wealth accumulated by the Society, and invested in all kinds of clever speculation. Here and there, however, they have proved real benefactors to the poor; although, as instanced in their former mission in Paraguay—their 'Lost Paradise'—it has not been their object to elevate the minds of the lower classes, but to confine

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them strictly to a mechanical system of Roman Catholicism.

With all their acquired acuteness, the Jesuits make many mistakes, as, indeed, they have *ab initio*. The whole history of their Society has been a series of blunders. In the far East, their 'Chinese Rites,'[1] condemned by Pope after Pope, were finally prohibited and abolished. In England, their fatuous policy was the ruin of the Roman Catholic cause. In France, their advocacy of the Revocation of Nantes drove into exile numbers of prosperous French merchants, who established themselves forthwith in this country, to the gain of Great Britain and to the loss of France. In Poland, they were the political cause of working immense mischief among all classes. In Spain and Portugal, they are daily losing ground, and have a very indifferent reputation. In 1870, their enforced Definition of the Infallibility of the Pope reveals itself, as time goes, in the light of one of the most tragical errors ever committed by the Court of Papal Rome. In the same year they were instrumental in advising the Empress Eugénie to induce Napoleon III. to go to war with Prussia.

[1] 'From this room,' once said a General of the Jesuits to a French statesman, 'I govern not only Paris, but China; and not only China, but the whole world—and that without anybody knowing how it is done.'

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On the whole, notwithstanding their continual reverses, the Jesuits have good reason to be satisfied with their present position in England and Ireland, with which, so long as they remain satisfied, without meddling in party politics, they are likely to hold their own. There are, nevertheless, some awkward obstacles lying in their way. Recent events in France have done much to revive the traditional British hostility to their Society. The unwelcome influx of Religious Orders from abroad has tended to call public attention again to the question of the Jesuits. Constant controversies in the English press, in which the Jesuits are so fond of taking part, have done their Society little good, and if they wish to maintain their stronghold unimpaired, they must first be content with fortifying it, before sallying out to attack their enemies' camp.

Bitter experience teaches us to dislike and distrust the Jesuits, but it would be both foolish and dishonest to tar them all with the same brush. Only a few years ago, towards the end of the reign of Queen Victoria, their English Provincial, acting on behalf of his colleagues, remonstrated most forcibly with the General of the Jesuits in regard to the nature of some of the instructions sent over from Rome to be observed by the Jesuits in this country, with the result that the General was obliged to alter his anti-British

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policy. Among the Jesuits have been, and are, many scoundrels, but there also have been, and are, a great many saints. The same Society which (dealing only with England) has produced such men as Robert Parsons, Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesimond (Greenway), and Edward Petre, has also given us priests such as Edmund Arrowsmith, Albany Christie, John Morris, Henry Kerr, Stephen Perry, and Ignatius Grant.

Except when it has been (as in the case of the Vatican Council) to serve the direct interests of their Society, the Jesuits have seldom proved loyal servants of the Holy See. They have, indeed, always defied episcopal authority, and have obeyed the orders only of their own General, and of his immediate advisers. It has been said that, at times, they have lent large sums of money to the Holy See, and while these sums remained unpaid, they have practically held the Papacy in pawn. The power of the General of the Jesuits is, or was, almost equal to that of the Holy Father, and in Italy to this day the head of the Society of Jesus is called the 'Black Pope,' and the head of the Roman Catholic Church the 'White Pope.'[1] The labours of the General are prodigious. No individual in the world receives, and answers, so many letters. In the archives of

[1] The Cardinal who presides over the Propaganda is often called the 'Red Pope.'

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the Jesuit head-quarters are preserved enormous registers, wherein the names of all members of the Society are enrolled, together with prolific personal notes relating to the Society's friends, and especially its foes. The frailties of a woman, the secret policy of a minister, the income of some opulent merchant, the 'liberalism' of some exalted ecclesiastic are, *inter alia*, all chronicled here. The Jesuit obtains exact information about the inner life of every foeman worthy of his steel—about his friends, his source of wealth (or his debts), his movements, his projects, and his past.

Although the Society of Jesus is composed of men only,[1] it exercises great influence over, and keeps in close touch with, more than one Order of Nuns. The wealthy Order of the Sacred Heart exists under the exclusive direction of the Society, whose priests act as confessors to the nuns and their pupils. Other communities of females, such as the Institute of the Blessed Virgin, also have constant recourse to the Society for a supply of confessors, and have adopted its rules. Such sisterhoods gradually submit, in the main, to Jesuit control. But the influence of the Society over women is not confined to the inhabitants of convents. The Jesuits make a speciality of maintaining intimate terms with wealthy married

[1] As stated above, the Order of Jesuitesses did not long exist. It was suppressed by the Pope.

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women, or with young heiresses to large fortunes, by means of which policy much of the vast wealth accumulated by their Society has been gained. They make a habit of obtaining information from Catholic servants as to the doings of their mistresses. Their influence over women has in turn influenced the history of modern Europe. Many a king's mistress has been a secret agent of the Society. In England, the Duchess of Portsmouth, beloved by Charles II., was a warm friend of the Jesuits, as was in France (to quote a single instance out of several) the famous Madame de Maintenon. The ascendency gained over the feminine mind by the Jesuit in the confessional is extraordinary, and he rarely permits a lady, coming to his confessional-box for the first time, to leave it until he has cross-examined her carefully about her social position and private life.

An amusing anecdote, in illustration, was told, a few years ago, of a *faux pas* committed by a Jesuit in the west of London. A woman—not bad looking, and very well dressed—came to him for confession. Not having seen her before, he asked for her name, and promised shortly to pay her a visit. The address she gave was that of a house in, or very near, Berkeley Square, to which the Jesuit accordingly betook himself on his visit a few days later. Knocking at the front door, his summons was answered by a tall footman

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in livery. 'Is Miss So-and-so at home?' said the Jesuit. With an air of ineffable disgust, to the Jesuit's astonishment, the footman replied, 'When you come to see the second housemaid, kindly ring the bell at the area-gate.'

In England and Wales, the Jesuits have establishments scattered about in various parts of the country, but their stronghold, undoubtedly, is Lancashire. At Oxford, although they have a beautiful church, their mission has never made any real progress. The following is a list of English and Welsh places in which the Jesuits possess houses and churches: Blackpool, Bournemouth, Bristol, Bury Saint Edmunds, Chesterfield, Denbigh, Leigh, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Mold, Old Windsor, Oxford, Preston, Rhyl, Richmond (Yorks), Roehampton, Saint Asaph, St. Helier (Jersey), Saint Helens, Shipton, Stonyhurst, Wakefield, Wardour Castle (Wilts), Wigan, Wimbledon, Worcester, Yarmouth, Canterbury, St. Leonards-on-Sea, Prescot, Accrington, Billington, Clitheroe, Holywell, and Petworth.

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CHAPTER XII

THE ENGLISH JESUITS (*continued*)

IN this chapter I furnish a series of brief biographies, mainly arranged in alphabetical order, of the most remarkable of the English Jesuits, dating from the period of the first formal mission of the Society to England, and descending to the present day. Of some of the nineteenth-century Jesuits included in my little list no accounts have hitherto appeared in print, except in certain publications, probably of small circulation, issued by the Jesuits themselves, and these, of course, have not been noted for their impartiality. I have, therefore, written throughout from the historical rather than from the theological point of view. Many able Jesuits of English birth have been employed abroad by their Society, so that they have not come under my observation [1] here. The English Jesuits have selected their

[1] Such as William Good, the first Englishman to join the Society. He was received into the Society at Tournai, in 1562, and died at Naples, in 1586.

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recruits from all classes of society—upper, middle, and low. Some of their members have sprung from old Roman Catholic families, such as, for example, Walmesley, Hornyold, Petre, Blundell, Vavasour, Weld, Plowden, Shireburn, Scarisbrick, Rookwood, Pole, Mannock, Poulton, Eyston, Molyneux, Gage, Walpole, Langdale, Dormer, Copley, Mostyn, Tichborne, Clifford, Constable, Gerard, Vaughan, More, Southwell, Riddell, Blount, Caryll, Tyrrell, Tempest, and Strickland. In Brother Foley's[1] voluminous *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* we frequently come across such names, and those of other old Romanist races now extinct in the male line (as are several of the above). Cadets of these houses did much to forward the internal interests and strengthen the position in times past of the English Province of that Society, which has been aptly likened to a gleaming dagger whose hilt is at Rome, but whose point is to be encountered everywhere.

My records of the leading English Jesuits follow, as below, commencing with the ill-fated

EDMUMD ARROWSMITH, the Jesuit 'martyr,' born at Haydock, Lancashire, in the year 1585, and executed at Lancaster in September 1628. His memory has remained green chiefly on account

[1] Henry Foley, formerly a solicitor, after becoming a Roman Catholic, entered the Society of Jesus as a lay-brother.

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of the relic of his supposed miraculous hand, still preserved at St. Oswald's Church, Ashton, Newton-le-Willows, Lancashire. It is alleged that many invalids have been cured by touching the hand. Arrowsmith was a priest of deep piety, and led a self-sacrificing and unselfish life. He was treated with the greatest brutality at his execution, and a horrible story is told of his mangled remains being taken for inspection to Sir Henry Yelverton, the judge who had sentenced him, then seated at dinner, but whose appetite remained unspoilt by the revolting spectacle, about which he passed some very coarse remarks. After being educated at Douai, Arrowsmith was ordained a priest in 1612, and was sent in the year following back to England, where, in 1624, he secretly joined the Society of Jesus. He seems to have carried on his labours, even after he became a Jesuit, very much like an ordinary Secular priest; and he does not appear to have been employed in the direct interests of his Society, a fact which has reasonably led one Roman Catholic historian to doubt whether he was a Jesuit at all. Probably the Jesuits, finding that he was unlikely to serve their interests politically, allowed him to work on much the same lines, after his secret reception into their Society, as he had done before joining them. That he was a Jesuit was not known to the authorities who captured and tried him; they vaguely accused

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him at first of being one, but that without adducing or discovering any proof whatever. Arrowsmith's baptismal name was Bryan, which he changed for Edmund at his confirmation. He is said to have joined the Jesuits under the *alias* of Edmund Bradshawe. At the period of his capture he seems to have gone under the *alias* of Rigby. A wonderful cure is reported, in the year 1735, to have been effected by bringing the 'miraculous' hand of the 'martyred' priest to the bedside of an invalid boy. The hand is still periodically 'exposed for the veneration of the faithful.'

JOHN CALDWELL (*alias* FENWICK) was one of the victims of the 'Popish Plot,' for alleged implication in which he suffered death, at the instance of Titus Oates, in company with several other priests of his Society. He was born at Durham, in the year 1628, of Protestant parentage, but entered the Roman Church in or about 1652. After being educated at St. Omer's College, he joined the Jesuits in 1656. Twenty years later he was sent by them to London. He was hanged at Tyburn, after having been very cruelly treated in prison, on June 20, 1679. A full account of Caldwell's alleged connection with the schemes denounced by the infamous Titus Oates is given in Mr. John Pollock's comprehensive and illuminating *History of the Popish Plot.*

EDMUND CAMPION ('Proto-Martyr of the English

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Jesuits'). Just as John Henry Newman was the most distinguished Oxford convert to Romanism of the nineteenth century, so Edmund Campion was the most distinguished Oxford convert of the sixteenth century, with the difference that Campion's scholastic career at the University was the more brilliant of the two. Campion was Proctor and Public Orator at Oxford,[1] and delivered a famous oration at the funeral of the unfortunate Amy Robsart,[2] killed at Cumnor, and another on the occasion of Queen Elizabeth's visit to the University town in 1566. He intended going over to Rome soon after quitting Oxford, where his Catholic leanings had got him into trouble, and took refuge in Ireland. Here, for some time, he was protected by the Lord-Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney. He fled eventually to the continent, formally became a Roman Catholic at Douai in 1571, and two years later a Jesuit. In 1578, he was ordained priest (he had been a deacon in the Church of England). Campion, disguised as a merchant, accompanied Father Robert Parsons, by the direction of Cardinal Allen, on the first Jesuit mission to England. Arrived in

[1] Campion, the son of a bookseller, was born in London, January 25, 1539. He was educated at Christ's Hospital, and at St. John's College, Oxford, of which he was a fellow.

[2] R. Simpson (Campion's biographer) incorrectly states that Amy Robsart was buried, first, at Cumnor. This was not so. Her body was taken direct to Oxford, for burial there.

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London, to disarm suspicion, he actually lodged in the house of an officer who had been specially directed to effect his capture, for it had got to the knowledge of Elizabeth's advisers that Fathers Parsons and Campion were on their way to England. From London he journeyed forth into the provinces, secretly visiting the houses of Roman Catholics, and enchanting all who resorted to him with the fascination of his presence, the fervour of his piety, the brilliance of his oratory, and the sweetness of his disposition. He was also the means of making many converts to Romanism. After on several occasions narrowly escaping capture, he was taken at last, at Lyford Grange, near Abingdon, Berkshire. At this house, belonging to a Roman Catholic family of the name of Yate, were lodged several nuns, who much wished to hear Campion preach. As the house was well watched, Father Parsons advised Campion not to visit it, but in vain. Tidings of Campion's residence there were given to the magistrates by an informer. The house was surrounded, and Campion arrested. After spending some time in prison, during which he was put on the rack, Campion met his fate with heroic fortitude at Tyburn, December 1, 1581, and earned, in consequence, the title of 'Proto-Martyr of the English Jesuits.'

As the author of the *Decem Rationes*, Edmund

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Campion took high rank among contemporary theologians. Emanating from the Jesuits' secret printing-press in Oxfordshire, the south of England was flooded with pamphlets written, or edited, by him and Parsons. He lost his life because he would not repudiate the doctrine of the Deposing Power of the Popes. With almost his last breath he prayed for Queen Elizabeth. In company with Campion were hanged, drawn, and quartered two other priests, one of whom, Alexander Briant, a handsome young man of much promise, the Jesuits claim as amongst their 'martyrs.' It is a fact that Briant was, at his own request, nominally admitted into their Society shortly before he died; but he was in prison at the time, and never had, therefore, the necessary long probation in or actual connection with the Society, and he cannot, consequently, be considered other than what he originally was—a Secular priest. A man cannot be made a Jesuit in a few minutes.

Father Campion's violent death created considerable consternation in Madrid and at Rome, where his reputation as a scholar stood as high as it always had in England. He was not employed by his superiors as a politician, but purely as a religious. His General, indeed, had forbidden him to interfere in English politics. But it must be borne in mind that Father

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Campion was not a 'martyr' in the sense that were undoubtedly the Protestants, Bishops Ridley, Hooper, and Latimer. These, and the other Marian martyrs (excepting Cranmer), were burned to death because they refused to believe in transubstantiation and in other Roman dogmas. Campion, on the other hand, was hanged because he would not deny the Pope's Deposing Power; although, at the same time, he never once said anything in its favour; but to all the questions directly put to him, as to whether the Popes have any right to excommunicate, depose, or destroy princes, he returned, nevertheless, unsatisfactory answers. Still, the fact of these evasive answers did not justify his being tortured so terribly to force him to betray his friends. A very little would have saved his life, so satisfied were the authorities (with his old patrons and admirers, Elizabeth[1] and Leicester, at their head) with his replies to the other interrogatives of his examiners. Edmund Campion was, in fact, a victim of the disastrous policy of Pope Pius V.[2] One of the

[1] It is said that Elizabeth offered Campion the reversion of the Archbishopric of Canterbury if he would renounce Romanism and enter the Established Church.

[2] 'We know,' said Pope Urban VIII., 'that We may declare Protestants excommunicate, as Pius V. declared Queen Elizabeth of England, and before him, Clement VII., Henry VIII., King of England—but with what success? The whole world can tell. We yet bewail it in tears of blood.' Some other

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cords in which he lay bound on his way to Tyburn is preserved at Stonyhurst; his halter was buried in the grave of Father Parsons.[1] It is said, so confident was he of becoming a 'martyr,' that, even before being captured, he used to raise his hat when passing Tyburn tree.

Although Father Parsons made many converts in England, Edmund Campion must be considered the leader of the Roman Catholic revival under Elizabeth. He founded, indeed, an Oxford Movement, to which that of the nineteenth century, under J. H. Newman, was in many respects very similar. Many of Campion's Oxford friends went over to Rome with him, just as did so many of Newman's. Fathers Holt, Arden, Briant, Martin, Sherwin, and Emerson were all Oxford men, as were several lay members of a powerful sodality of gentlemen, specially enrolled in order to aid Parsons and Campion in their mission to England. Like the Tractarians, all these Jesuit converts became Ultramontanes, and distinguished themselves in attacking the 'old school' of Roman

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priests, captured at about the same time as Campion, were released on disavowing all credence in the Deposing Power.

[1] Froude inaccurately states that Robert Parsons died, thirty years after Campion, at Valladolid. Parsons died in Rome, less than twenty-nine years after Campion's execution. Froude is also wrong in saying that Father Garnet was an Oxford man.

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Catholic clergy. Cardinal Allen, the *fons et origo mali*, was also an Oxford man.

ALBANY JAMES CHRISTIE was one of the supporters of the Oxford Movement. He was born in London, 1817, and became a fellow of Oriel, Oxford (Newman's college). Originally intending to enter the medical profession, he studied for some time at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, but on joining the Roman Church, entered the Society of Jesus, in 1847, and took holy orders. Whilst stationed at Farm Street, London, he succeeded in making many converts to Romanism. Father Christie was a most industrious worker in the cause of his Society and his Church, and a very earnest, strict, and pious priest. He died in 1891.

HENRY JAMES COLERIDGE, D.D., like his friend, Father Albany Christie, went to Rome *viâ* Oxford. He was a great-nephew of S. T. Coleridge, the poet, and brother to Lord Chief Justice Coleridge.[1] Originally an Anglican clergyman, he became a Roman Catholic in 1852, and a Jesuit in 1857. He wrote a Life of Our Lord, and edited *The Month*. Born in 1822, he died in 1893, and was buried in the graveyard of the beautiful old collegiate church at Ottery St. Mary, Devon, the home of his family.

JOSEPH CRESSWELL, born in London, 1557,

[1] Coleridge's successor, Lord Russell of Killowen, also had a brother who was a Jesuit (in Ireland).

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entered the Society of Jesus abroad in 1583, and was Rector of the English College at Rome from 1589 to 1592, when he went to Spain, and spent many years at Madrid. He died at Ghent, 1623. Father Cresswell was a vain, fussy, dictatorial, and quarrelsome man. Even Jesuit writers admit that his conceit, want of tact, and love of intrigue injured their cause. Our ambassador at Madrid found Cresswell a constant source of trouble. From a letter written by Cresswell, we learn that Lord Howard of Effingham, who commanded the English fleet against the Armada, was a Protestant, and was never (as represented by Romanist controversialists), it seems, a member of the Church of Rome at any period of his career. Father Cresswell, at Madrid, remained in very close correspondence with the 'Spanish party' among the English Romanists, to which all the conspirators engaged in the Gunpowder Plot belonged. Cresswell went to Madrid with the object of reversing the policy of Father Parsons, who, he thought, had been too domineering and dictatorial; but Cresswell's own methods of going to work proved to be little more gentle than those of his predecessor, in the long run, for he was a party to all the Spanish schemes for again attacking England.

JAMES DE LA CLOCHE DU BOURG was the eldest child of King Charles II. He was born in

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Jersey, 1647. His mother is described as a young lady belonging to a Scottish noble family. It is said—but it is impossible to identify her—that she was a member of the ducal house of Lennox, in which case her son was a Stewart of royal blood by maternal as well as paternal descent. Charles II. described her as '*Une jeune dame des plus qualifiées de nos royaumes, plutôt par fragilité de nôtre première jeunesse que par malice.*' At the period of the boy's birth, Charles (then Prince of Wales) confessed that '*Nous n'avions guères plus de seize ou 17 ans.*'

When an infant, James was sent to Paris, where he was brought up a Protestant, and went by the full name of James de la Cloche du Bourg. This name was evidently derived from a Jersey source. Next to nothing is heard further of him until 1665, when he secretly visited Charles II. in London, where he stayed for some six weeks. Charles then gave him a signed paper, recognizing him as his son. On July 29, 1667, James was received into the Church of Rome at Hamburg. In April 1668 he joined the Jesuits at Rome, being admitted, as a novice, into their house of St. Andrea al Quirinale. The following entry in the Jesuit archives refers to him and his belongings—

'James de la Cloche, from the Isle of Jersey, a possession of the King of England, aged 24, came to St. Andrea, April 11, 1668. He brought

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with him a hat; a mantlet and clerical dress of silk; a doubtlet and breeches of black material; a vest of yellow skin; a leather sword-belt of musk colour; a pair of white silk stockings; two shirts and a waistcoat; a pair of drawers and stockings of thread; three handkerchiefs, and a white linen cap; two pairs of boots; three collars; three pairs of cuffs; a pair of gloves; a hair-brush; a pair of riding boots; two pairs of thread buttons to fasten the collar.'

The news of his son's reception into the Roman Catholic Church was received by Charles with gratification, and both the King and Jesuits saw in this youth an excellent agent for carrying on secret communications between England and Rome. The news of his reception was also told to the Queens Catharine of Braganza and Henrietta Maria. In August 1668 Charles wrote to Oliva, the Jesuit General, requesting him to send James to London. Travelling under the name of Henri de Rohan, James journeyed to England, after some delay, and was again received in secret by the King. He only stayed a few days, however, and returned to Rome carrying dispatches for the General of the Jesuits and the Pope.

The doings of James now suddenly change. He, apparently, left the Jesuits, and gave himself up to a worldly career. Going to Naples, early in

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1669, he married there an innkeeper's daughter, but on publicly calling himself the King of England's son, was thrown into prison as an impostor. In August of the same year he died. On September 7, 1669, the British Minister at Naples wrote home—

'That certain fellow, whoever he was, . . . made his testament, and left it with his Most Christian Majesty (whom he called cousin) executor. He had been absent from Naples some time, pretending to have made a journey into France to visit his mother, Doña Maria Stewart, of his Majesty's royal family . . . his mother was, it seems, dead before he arrived in France. . . . By his will, he leaves to Teresa and his child 291 thousand ducats, which he called legacies. He was buried in the church of St. Francisco de Paolo (for he died of this religion); he left 400 francs for a lapide to have his name and quality engraved on it, for he called himself Don Jacopo Stuarto, and this was the end of that princely cheat or whatever he was.'

'Don Jacopo's' child proved to be a boy, and was christened James. He died without legitimate issue at Genoa, in or about 1752. If this 'Don Jacopo' was not the same person as the royal bastard James Stewart, the Jesuit lay-brother, then it is much to be deplored that no further records of the King's son's later life have

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not descended to us. The Jesuits themselves cannot solve the mystery of the identity, but it is, I believe, clear that James (even supposing he did not die at Naples as 'Don Jacopo') was never ordained a priest. It has been conjectured, nevertheless, that he was ordained, and ('Don Jacopo' being an impostor) was present in London when Charles II. died. It has even been declared that the Duke of York sent for him formally to receive the dying Charles into the Roman Church, but that he could not be found in time.[1] But, as I demonstrated in the *English Historical Review* of October 1903, it seems evident that the Jesuit novice and 'Don Jacopo' were one and the same man. But whatever the place or circumstances of his death, it does not alter the fact that amongst the ranks of the Society of Jesus was once enrolled the eldest son of an English King.[2] One theory, invented by a modern Jesuit, is that (whether James was or was not the same man as 'Don Jacopo') he left the Society of Jesus because he became partially insane.

[1] *Vide* Boero's *Istoria della Conversione alla Chiesa Cattolica di Carlo II., Rè d'Inghilterra*, and my articles on 'The Eldest Son of Charles II.' (*Westminster Review* for February 1903, and *English Historical Review* for October 1903.)

[2] James de la Cloche du Bourg was, of course, older than his half-brother, the ill-fated Duke of Monmouth, as Charles II. himself confessed in one of his letters.

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In his 'Anglo-Roman Papers,' Mr. Maziere Brady makes an attempt to identify the mother of James de la Cloche du Bourg. He quotes Sir Bernard Burke (a doubtful authority) in support of his theory that this lady may have been the daughter of Charles Stewart, sixth Duke of Lennox, and fourth Earl of March. But this theory is untenable, since the Duke was only eight years old when James was born. It has also been suggested that the mother may have been Lady Mary Stewart, daughter of the fourth Duke of Lennox; but this is equally out of the question, for Lady Mary was but nine years of age when 'Don Jacopo' first saw the light in Jersey.

IGNATIUS GRANT, who died in November 1904, must have been the last of the Tractarians. From the first, at Oxford, a great admirer of J. H. Newman, he keenly resented the treatment accorded to the great Oratorian by Manning, Talbot, Ward, Pio Nono, and others. He always hoped that, after Manning's death, some authoritative work would be published in the form of an official vindication of Cardinal Newman, who had, he declared, been unjustly condemned for his connection with the *Rambler*.

HENRY GARNET, the son of a Nottingham school-master, was brought up a Protestant, and educated at Winchester, after leaving which he

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served two years in London as a corrector of the press. He then went abroad, and became a Romanist. In 1575, he entered the Society of Jesus, and studied at Rome. In 1586, he accompanied Father Southwell to England, and became, in the year following, Superior of the Jesuits in England. In January 1606, he was captured at Hendlip House, Worcestershire, and taken up to London. On May 3, 1606, he was hanged on Ludgate Hill. After his death, some wonderful stories were told as to a marvellous straw, picked up on his scaffold, said to be stamped with an impress of his face; but, on a magisterial examination being held into the circumstances of the case, the whole story of the miraculous straw was found to be a myth. The history of Father Garnet's career is so well known, owing to his connection with the Gunpowder Plot, that it is unnecessary to deal further with it here. Attempts to have him (like Campion) 'beatified' at Rome have failed. Father Garnet was born in 1555, but not at Nottingham, as Oliver, the Jesuit writer, states. He was not tortured in the Tower of London, as Lord Ronald Gower, in his illustrated history of that fortress, asserts.

Father Henry Garnet was a very learned priest, and as a scholar had been much admired, when engaged in studying and teaching at Rome. He was a gentle, light-hearted man, but unfortun-

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ately indulged in the habit of equivocation, which at that time had been reduced to a fine art by the Jesuits abroad. He should never have been sent upon the English Mission at so stormy a period, but with the exception of Robert Parsons himself there was hardly any native Jesuit, just then, capable of managing English affairs. That Father Garnet knew of the Gunpowder Plot some months before the fatal fifth of November, and acquired that knowledge outside the confessional, is no longer denied, but it seems clear that he did not approve of the Plot. His inability to make up his mind as whether to interfere with Robert Catesby's plans, or not, and his constant resort to the most reckless equivocation, were the chief factors in causing his death. It is by no means unlikely that he was directly privy to sending the famous warning letter to Lord Mounteagle.

THOMAS GARNET, a nephew of Henry Garnet, by whom he was received into the Society of Jesus; this Jesuit was hanged at Tyburn at the age of thirty-three. He was educated at St. Omer and Valladolid, but on coming to England was arrested after the failure of the Gunpowder Plot. Nothing being proved against him, he was banished the kingdom in 1606. He was so foolish as to return early in 1608, and was speedily captured. He seems to have been a

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young man of considerable piety, but it is impossible to condone his fault in returning to England after he had been banished as a Jesuit. As Sir John Throckmorton, a Roman Catholic, writing in the reign of George III., clearly demonstrated, Campion, Briant, Garnet, and others, 'were martyrs to the Deposing Power, not to their religion.' Thomas Garnet, indeed, openly advocated this pernicious doctrine of the Deposing Power.

JOHN GERARD, the son of a Lancashire Knight,[1] and brother of a Baronet, was born in 1564. He was educated first at Douai, then at Exeter College, Oxford, and afterwards at Paris. He became a Jesuit abroad in 1588. Coming to England, he experienced numerous wonderful escapes from capture, when hidden away in secret chambers concealed in country-houses belonging to the Roman Catholic gentry. In 1597, he was caught, put into the Tower, and tortured; but he succeeded in escaping, one dark night, by climbing down a rope swinging over the moat. He had another escape from capture after the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, but managed to cross the Channel, disguised as a footman, on the very day of Father Henry Garnet's execution. He never returned to England, and after holding various important

[1] Ancestor of the present Lord Gerard.

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posts in the interests of his Society at Liége and Ghent, died at Rome in 1637 (not in 1630, as stated by Oliver). Father Gerard was a fast friend of Sir Everard Digby, executed for his share in the Gunpowder Plot. He was very successful in getting wealthy men and women to join, or help his Society.

That Father Gerard knew about Catesby's intentions of blowing up the Parliament House, there exists no proof to be adduced. The story that he worked in the mine with the conspirators is not worthy of consideration. He undoubtedly, however, gave the Eucharist to some of the conspirators, after they had just held one of their secret conferences. He, also, was constantly in Digby's company during the process of planning the Plot. But he does not appear to have known anything about their conference, when he gave these conspirators the Eucharist, and Digby in his last letters never mentions that he told Gerard anything about the conspiracy. In his autobiography, written in after years at Rome, Gerard emphatically states that he never possessed the faintest inkling of what was going on. At the same time, even though we may readily and gladly accept his protestations of innocence, Gerard was (like Garnet) by no means a truthful man, as several extraordinary statements in his autobiography go to prove. Digby, though not

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implicating him by name, hints clearly, in one of his letters from the Tower, that he thought all the leading Jesuits in England both knew and approved of the Plot, otherwise he would never have decided to engage in it. But Digby, of course, may have been deceived as to the attitude of these priests by Robert Catesby. If John Gerard[1] knew nothing about the explosion at Westminster, he must, nevertheless, have been aware of the intended rising in the Midlands. He was also a party to sending Sir Edward Baynham to Rome, and one of Baynham's prospective duties was to inform the Pope of the Gunpowder Plot, after the explosion had taken place at Westminster. Father Gerard, in the year 1603, betrayed to the British Government a priest, named Watson, who was engaged in what was called the 'Bye Plot,' with the result that this William Watson, and another Secular priest, named Clarke, were captured, and executed.[2] This proceeding on Gerard's part (in which he was helped by Henry Garnet) shows how jealous the Jesuits were of the Secular Roman Catholic clergy in England, and how

[1] This seventeenth-century Father Gerard must not be confounded with Father John Gerard, S.J., born in 1840, author of *What was the Gunpowder Plot?* and other works.

[2] Oliver absurdly argues that had Gerard known of the Gunpowder Plot, he would have betrayed the conspirators to the Government, as he did in the case of the 'Bye Plot.'

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glad they were to injure them, whenever a convenient opportunity offered itself.

NICHOLAS HART is better known by his *alias* of 'Hammond.' He heard the confessions of most of the Gunpowder Plotters, at Huddington, November 7, 1605. Born in 1577, Hart was educated at Westminster School. He was received into the Roman Catholic Church by a Franciscan friar imprisoned in the Marshalsea. In 1604, he became a Jesuit. More than once captured, and banished, he died eventually in Wales, in 1650, having returned finally to England in 1646. That he cannot have been an accessory before the fact to the Gunpowder Plot seems evident, or he would not have escaped merely with imprisonment, after visiting the conspirators, engaged in open rebellion, at Huddington. Considering, also, that he returned to England, after being banished, he seems to have been treated with greater leniency than that accorded by the British Government to other members of his Society.

HENRY KERR, R.N., a grandson of the sixth Marquis of Lothian, was born at Dittisham, South Devon, 1838. Entering the Navy, he rose to the rank of first-lieutenant, but then left the service and became a Jesuit. He was chaplain to the Viceroy of India (Lord Ripon), and was offered, but refused, the Archbishopric

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of Bombay. Father Kerr, a man of exemplary piety, but of no great ability, died whilst engaged as a missionary in South Africa, at Grahamstown, 1895. An elaborate biography of Kerr has been compiled by one of his relatives.

Sir George Mannock, Bart., born in 1724, latterly led the life of a prosperous country squire in Suffolk. The fact that he was a priest and a Jesuit remained a secret to the Protestant world. He died, in 1787, at Dartford, from the effects of a fall sustained by an accident to the Dover mail-coach. He was the last descendant, in the male line, of the very ancient family of Mannock, of Giffords Hall, and had only succeeded to the title after the deaths of all his brothers, and his nephew. A friend of the Anglican rector of his parish, Mannock once rescued him from the hands of a mob, which declared that the rector was a Jesuit in disguise. On Sir George giving his word that the parson was not a Jesuit, the mob let him go, little thinking that the baronet was a Jesuit himself. Offered a dispensation to marry by the Pope, Sir George declined, and with him the baronetcy expired.

Henry More was a great-grandson of Sir Thomas More, and was the author of *Historia Missionis Anglicæ Societatis Jesu*. He died in 1661, at a great age. He had a younger brother, also a Jesuit.

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THOMAS MORE was chiefly notable as being the last descendant, in the male line, of the great Sir Thomas More. He died at Bath in 1793, aged seventy-one. Some relics of Sir Thomas More are preserved at Stonyhurst, which were bequeathed by Father More to that institution. Father More was elder brother to Father Christopher Cressacre More, also a Jesuit.

JOHN MORRIS, F.S.A., like his colleagues, Fathers Grant, Coleridge, and Christie, was originally, although a mere youth at the time, a Tractarian.[1] He was born at Ootacamund, India, July 4, 1826, and entered the Roman Church twenty years later, after a short residence at Trinity College, Cambridge. He first of all became a Secular priest, and was a Canon in the Northampton diocese, as well as private secretary to Cardinals Wiseman and Manning. He wrote, or edited, several important historical works, including his *Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers*. Father Morris, who would have made a Bishop, had he not joined the Jesuits, died suddenly in the pulpit at Wimbledon, in October 1893, whilst preaching a sermon, one Sunday morning, in the Jesuits' church. Father Morris succeeded Father Coleridge as head of the Jesuits' literary staff in London. For six years he edited the

[1] Father Morris, S.J., must not be confused with the Rev. John Brande Morris, another Tractarian convert.

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annual and official *Catholic Directory*. To his credit, it was generally believed that he wished to write history with greater impartiality than his superiors were prepared to permit, and he was understood to be by no means an admirer of Parsons and his policy. He joined the Society in 1867, and was 'professed' of the four vows in 1877. Father Morris was undoubtedly the ablest man to join (and remain in) the Society, from the Anglican Church, during the nineteenth century. Morris was an ardent agitator in favour of 'beatifying' the Romanist priests and monks put to death in England under the Tudors. At the time of his death, he was engaged, at Cardinal Vaughan's request, in writing a Life of Cardinal Wiseman.[1]

EDWARD OLDCORNE, *alias* Hall, was born in 1561, the son of a Yorkshire bricklayer. He was captured at Hendlip, Worcestershire, with his friend, Father Garnet. Oldcorne was hanged at Redhill, Worcester,[2] April 7, 1606, after having been imprisoned and tortured in the Tower of London. There is no proof whatever to convict him of being accessory to the Gunpowder Plot. The

[1] This work, after Father Morris' death, was ably written by Mr. Wilfrid Ward.

[2] Father Taunton states that Mr. Habington was hanged at the same time and place as Oldcorne. But this was not so; Habington died of old age at Hendlip, in his eighty-eighth year.

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utmost that was ever alleged against him, at the time, was that he had told Humphrey Lyttleton, who asked his advice on the subject, that the Plot was 'a good action'; but it is not clear that Oldcorne understood that Lyttleton referred to the Gunpowder Treason, and Lyttleton afterwards contradicted his incriminating assertions. He probably lost his life owing to his generous action in inviting Father Garnet and others to share his shelter at Hendlip. His conversations with Garnet in the Tower were overheard by an agent of the Government, and taken down in writing. At Hendlip he was chaplain to the Habington family. William Habington, the poet, was born there on the eventful fifth of November, 1605. Father Oldcorne was ordained a Secular priest in 1587, joined the Jesuits in 1588, and went to Hendlip in 1589.

As a Jesuit, Father Oldcorne must, unfortunately, have believed in the terrible doctrine of the Pope's Deposing Power, which was the cause of so much mischief and persecution in England. As a Roman Catholic writer[1] points out, the Popes practically said to their clergy in England, under Elizabeth and the Stewart Kings, 'go to prison, and the gallows, sooner than profess allegiance to your Sovereign, sooner than renounce the

[1] Sir John Throckmorton, in his *A Second Letter, addressed to the Catholic Clergy of England.*

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Deposing and Absolving Powers which we have assumed: if you write in favour of your Monarch's independence, we condemn your writings; if you decline retracting your sentiments, we suspend you from your functions, we subject you to ecclesiastical censures, we denounce damnation on your souls; and not satisfied with your silent submission, we require you to acknowledge, as a point appertaining to your Faith, that Popes have a right to depose excommunicated Princes, and absolve their subjects from their oath of allegiance.'

In the light of this Papal policy it is not easy to agree with Father E. L. Taunton, who (in his *History of the Jesuits*) says: 'While Parsons and his followers only succeeded in achieving a brilliant failure, they were acute enough to snatch the credit of Campion, Southwell, Thomas Garnet, and others, who did the better and more fitting work. These, it seems to me, are the true heroes of the Society in England.' That Father Taunton is right, of course, in implying that men like Campion, Southwell, Thomas Garnet, and others were priests of a more saintly character than men like Parsons, Cresswell, and Tesimond (Greenway), I do not for one moment deny; but still these saintly men were all tarred with the same brush as their political colleagues, in that they professed obedience in the Deposing Power. I cannot see, therefore, that the British Government could

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be expected to distinguish between Jesuit and Jesuit; and, if a man like Thomas Garnet chose to profess credence in the doctrine of the Deposing Power, he deserved to be punished just as much as a man like Robert Parsons. Two of Father Taunton's 'true heroes,' moreover, are somewhat doubtful examples of a type of holiness. For Robert Southwell, with all his virtues, believed in Henry Garnet's theory of the morality of equivocation; and Thomas Garnet was put to death because he returned to England after he had been banished, and because he declared his implicit credence in the Deposing Power of the Pope (as even the Jesuit writer, Foley, admits).

GEORGE OLIVER, D.D., was born at Newington, Surrey, February 9, 1781, and was educated at Stonyhurst, where he eventually remained for a time as a tutor. At Stonyhurst he came under the influence of Father Charles Plowden. He was ordained a Secular priest, but placed himself under the direction of the Jesuits, and served at their mission in Exeter from 1807 until 1851, when he retired from work, but lived on in the same house with his (Jesuit) successor until his death in 1861. Dr. Oliver[1] was the author of

[1] Dr. Oliver must not be confounded with an Anglican contemporary of his, Dr. George Oliver (born in the year 1782), also a noted writer.

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several learned antiquarian books dealing with Devon and Cornwall, but his *magnum opus* was his valuable *Collections towards illustrating the Biography of the Scotch, English, and Irish Members of the Society of Jesus.* This work, although extremely partial, is nevertheless a most useful footnote to our history, inasmuch as it contains a list of all the British Jesuit priests, down to about 1840, with the dates of their births, deaths, receptions into the Society, professions, etc. The faults of the book are its author's endeavours to eulogize the personal character of almost every individual Jesuit, and, vainly, to impugn the veracity of Charles Dodd's *Secret Policy* and *Church History.* Dr. Oliver's memoirs of such 'political' Jesuits as Henry Garnet, Robert Parsons, John Gerard, and others are, in consequence, absolutely worthless.

The exact nature of Dr. Oliver's relations with the Society of Jesus savours somewhat of a mystery. Was he, or was he not, actually a member of the Society? According to one Jesuit writer, he was almost the last of a school of English Secular priests who remained under the secret control of the Jesuits. Of this mysterious school, it would surely be interesting to learn more. When was it initiated? When did it come to an end? Who were its leading members? What were their duties? Again, if such a school

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existed as late as the year 1861, is it too much to suppose that it may be revived, and Oliver, be it noted, is described as 'almost the last,' but not the last.

If Dr. Oliver was not a Jesuit, then it is a peculiarly curious fact that he should have remained on at Stonyhurst, after completing his studies; that he should have lived for fifty-four years in the Jesuit house at Exeter; that his successor there should have been a Jesuit; and, that the Jesuits should have given him their private papers, for him to write, under their direction, memoirs of the British and Irish members of their Society. That Dr. Oliver must have been received into the Society before his death—during, perhaps, the last few years of his life—seems most probable. That he died a Jesuit, I fully believe.

NICHOLAS OWEN, better known by his nickname of 'Little John,' was a Jesuit lay-brother, famed for his skill in devising and constructing secret chambers and hiding-places in country-houses. He was captured with Father Garnet, in whose service he was, at Hendlip, and imprisoned in the Tower, where he was tortured with the most terrible severity, and where he died, in March 1606. It was given out by the Government that he had committed suicide, but this seems very doubtful, and, if he did destroy himself, he was

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probably demented at the time, owing to the effects of the torture. Father John Gerard, whose nocturnal escape from the Tower in 1597 is understood to have been planned by Owen, gives the following account of this remarkable man, who before joining the Jesuits seems to have been by profession a builder—

'One Nicholas Owen, commonly called, and most known by the name of "Little John." By which name he was so famous, and so much esteemed by all Catholics, especially those of the better sort, that few in England, either priests or others, were of more credit. . . . His chief employment was in making of secret places to hide priests and church-stuff in from the fury of searches; in which kind he was so skilful both to devise and frame the places in the best manner. . . . He was the immediate cause of saving the lives of many hundreds of persons. . . . One reason that made him so much desired by Catholics of account, who might have had other workmen enough to make conveyances in their houses, was a known and tried care he had of secrecy, not only from such as would of malice be inquisitive, but from all others to whom it belonged not to know; in which he was so careful that you should never hear him speak of any houses or places where he had made such hides.'

Other contemporary accounts speak in equally

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high terms of Brother Owen's skill, which was utilized in constructing the famous recesses at Hendlip, where Fathers Garnet, Oldcorne, and he lay hid. It is true that these Jesuits were taken at Hendlip, but they had to come out of their hiding-places, owing to lack of food and fresh air. Their searchers had not discovered either of the 'holes' in which they were concealed.

Nicholas Owen entered the Society in 1579. In 1594 he was put into the Tower, but succeeded in escaping from it. He seems to have been one of the first of the English Jesuit lay-brothers. He was, altogether, a most remarkable man; and in one or more of his 'holes' Charles II. is reported to have found safety from the Roundheads, searching for the fugitive monarch after his flight from Worcester. Hendlip, unfortunately, has been pulled down, but other traces of Brother Owen's labours are still to be seen to this day in two or three ancient mansions.

WILLIAM GIFFORD PALGRAVE, F.R.G.S., a member of a talented family of Semitic origin,[1] an accomplished scholar and indefatigable traveller, whose intimate knowledge of the East rivalled that of Sir Richard Burton, was for several years a Jesuit, but left the Society to enter the diplomatic

[1] The name Palgrave was adopted by the family, early in the nineteenth century, in lieu of their real name—Cohen.

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service. A son of Sir Francis Palgrave, he was born on January 24, 1826, and was educated at the Charterhouse, and at Trinity College, Oxford. At school and college his scholastic career was exceptionally brilliant. On leaving Oxford, he went to India, and joined a native regiment, but soon got tired of the Army, and after becoming a Roman Catholic, was received into the Society of Jesus at Madras. In 1853, he went to Rome, thence he proceeded as a missionary to Syria. In 1863, disguised as a Syrian merchant, he crossed Central Arabia. In 1864, he left the Jesuits, and entered the diplomatic service. Henceforth, we find him moving about the world with extraordinary celerity. In 1865, we find him in Abyssinia; in 1866, in Egypt; in 1866–1870, in Turkey and Asia Minor; in 1873–1876, in the West Indies; in 1878–1879, in Bulgaria; in 1879, in Siam; in 1884, in Uruguay. On September 30, 1888, Palgrave died at Monte Video.

After quitting the Jesuits, he married, and left the Church of Rome, but became a Roman Catholic, once more, before his death.

Palgrave's life was as romantic as was any of his sixteenth- or seventeenth-century predecessors in the Society. It, indeed, seldom falls to the lot of one man to play so many parts in so short a time. He was, in turn, scholar, Army officer,

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Jesuit, missionary, oriental traveller, consul, and author. Palgrave's career was really more remarkable than Burton's, and his journey throughout Central Arabia was as daring and as well planned as Burton's pilgrimage to Mecca. As a diplomat, too, Palgrave was as capable as Burton was unsuccessful.[1] In the service of the Jesuits, he managed to make native converts to Romanism in Southern India and in Syria. A complete biography, published in a popular form, of W. G. Palgrave is much needed, and it is to be hoped that one will be undertaken by a competent authority. He was not only a distinguished orientalist, but was also an accomplished antiquary, a poet, and a great linguist. It is a pity that his services were not placed sooner at the disposal of his country, for much of his best work in the East was undertaken at the instigation of the Emperor of the French. He wrote some six or seven interesting works, dealing mainly with his oriental experiences.

STEPHEN PERRY, D.Sc., F.R.S., F.R.A.S., the astronomer, was born in London, August 26, 1833, of Roman Catholic parentage. He was educated at Gifford Hall, Douai, and Rome. In 1853, he joined the Jesuits, and was ordained a

[1] 'Palgrave was not only a man of great ability, and great force of character, but also of inordinate ambition' (Canon Meyrick's *Memories*).

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priest in their Society, 1866. In 1860, he had become professor of mathematics and physics at Stonyhurst. Devoting most of his time to the study of astronomy, Perry was not long in becoming a recognized authority on that science. He was deputed to assist in, or lead, no fewer than six expeditions, to different parts of the world, fitted out by the British Government. In 1874, he was sent to Desolation Island, to view the transit of Venus. In 1882, he was dispatched on a similar errand to Madagascar. In 1889, whilst observing the eclipse of the sun, he died, off the coast of Demerara, on December 27.

Notwithstanding that the greater part of Father Perry's career as a Jesuit was devoted to the study of his favourite science, he found time to carry on his proper labours as a priest. At Stonyhurst he fulfilled many functions. After having been director of the Observatory there for some time, he was—according to the Jesuit custom of making even their leading members periodically perform the humblest tasks—relegated to the school-room, to teach the lowest form. Father Perry was a good preacher, and —a good cricketer. A memoir of his career has been published by his colleague, Father Cortie.

Father Stephen Perry was the first Jesuit to obtain official recognition and employment at the

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hands of the British Government.[1] The Government, which in times past had imprisoned, tortured, and hanged his predecessors, honoured him with approbation and rewards. Preaching on Father Perry's life and last moments, Father Bernard Vaughan spoke of him as 'a Jesuit priest laid out in sacred vestments, covered with the English flag, on the bridge of an English frigate (*sic*), and manned by English blue-jackets, who in losing the priest felt they had lost a true friend; who,' continued Vaughan, 'did not therein read a sign of the times in which they lived!'

Father Perry was a Doctor of Science, a Fellow of the Royal Society, of the Royal Astronomical Society, and a member of several other learned institutions at home and abroad. The Stonyhurst Observatory, which achieved such fame under his charge, was founded in the year 1838. He was ably assisted at it by his clever colleagues, Fathers Cortie and Sidgreaves, S.J.

CHARLES PLOWDEN, a member of the ancient family of Plowden, of Plowden, Shropshire, one of fifteen children, was born on August 19, 1743. He was a very important and aggressive factor in the work of restoring the fallen fortunes of the Society of Jesus in England. After spending many years abroad, notably at Bruges, Rome,

[1] W. G. Palgrave had ceased to be a Jesuit (if not a Roman Catholic) before receiving official employment.

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and Liége, he returned home after the suppression of the Jesuits by the Pope. In 1817, he was made Rector of Stonyhurst, and Provincial. Father Plowden died suddenly at Jougné, France, 1821. From 1773 to 1774 he was imprisoned at Bruges.

Father Charles Plowden was undoubtedly an able man, being a fine preacher, and a clever writer on subjects of religious controversy. To his alliance with Bishop Milner was due the strong position assumed and held by the early Jesuits at Stonyhurst, in spite of the protests of Milner's colleagues, the Vicars-Apostolic. The Jesuits claimed, even during the dark days of their suppression, that their Stonyhurst candidates for the priesthood had a right to proceed to any Bishop for ordination. The Vicars-Apostolic, knowing that such a proceeding was initiated with the object of defying all episcopal authority, contended that they could only go to the Bishop (Vicar-Apostolic) of the diocese (District) in which Stonyhurst was situated. Both sides appealed to Rome; and if the rather evasive replies received from the Holy See were correctly interpreted, it was clearly shown that the Pope did not look upon the presence of the Jesuits in England as legal, but contended that, as their presence was contrary to the law of the land, he could not enter into the question of their rights in the matter, either during

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or after their suppression. Plowden was a Jesuit of the type of Robert Parsons and Henry Garnet: one (as he has been aptly described) of the 'old school.' His attacks—often couched in language of a strain similar to that for which Bishop Milner was notorious—on Dodd and Berington were founded on a very slender basis of fact; and his attempts to prove these writers incorrect resulted in disaster to the reputation of himself and his Society. The relations existing between Plowden and Dr. Milner remind one of those formerly existing between Robert Parsons and Cardinal Allen. Each of these alliances was detrimental to the rights and interests of the secular clergy.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR EDWARD PETRE, BART. It is not generally known that this priest, who played such a prominent and unfortunate part in the politics of James the Second's reign, was a Baronet, he having succeeded his elder brother, who died without issue.[1] Father Petre was born in London, 1631, joined the Jesuits in 1652, and was professed of the four vows, 1671. During the latter part of Charles the Second's reign, he was twice imprisoned on vague suspicion of being connected

[1] Our chief historians (including Lingard and Macaulay) are quite at sea in regard to Petre's pedigree. Father Petre was a grandson of the second Lord Petre. He was not a convert to Romanism, as he has often been represented, but a member of a staunch Roman Catholic family. The Baronetcy is extinct, and the present Lord Petre is now the head of the family.

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with the 'Popish Plot.' On the accession of James II., he rose rapidly in the favour of the new monarch, although he was much disliked by the Queen, who 'believed him to be a bad man.' In 1687, he was actually made Clerk of the Closet, and a member of the Privy Council. Imitating his royal patron's example, he fled to France, on the coming of the Prince of Orange, and spent the greater part of the remainder of his existence at St. Omer. On May 15, 1699, he died at Watten. During his exile, he made a brief visit to Rome, where he was coldly received.

No Jesuit has ever risen to such an eminence in England as did Father Petre during the latter half of James the Second's reign. He was then the King's most confidential adviser, and (next to Sunderland) the principal statesman in the kingdom. The infatuated James even petitioned the Pope to have Petre made a Cardinal, and to give him a dispensation to accept the vacant Archbishopric of York. But Innocent XI. was sagacious enough to see through the disastrous folly of the policy pursued by the Jesuits in England, whose puppet Petre was, and he abruptly refused both requests.

By the vast majority of the English Romanists, Petre was cordially detested. In this vain, ambitious Jesuit's proceedings they recognized a second edition of those of Father Parsons. Even

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Dryden, a Catholic, lampooned him in his verse. It was clear to everybody, except the King and Petre, that the Jesuits' 'forward' policy was premature, and that the nation would, sooner or later, refuse any longer to submit to it. Even the Papal Nuncio warned the Pope against Petre, as Mary of Modena did her husband. About the only sensible advice that Petre is known to have given James II. was to implore the King to stand his ground, and not to leave London, on the approach of William of Orange. This advice the King disregarded, with results fatal to himself and the house of Stewart. (During his exile, James took as his confessor another Jesuit, Father Saunders, a much more prudent and pious man.)

Sir Edward Petre was not an able priest. He was vain, weak, and ambitious. He seems to have been merely a tool in the hands of his Society, for whose sake he accepted large sums of money, offered to him as bribes, by courtiers and others. James II. perceived, too late, the mistake he had made in trusting Petre, and is said never to have seen the Jesuit after his flight from England. Modern Jesuit writers have done their best to defend Petre, but without avail. They have tried to represent him as acting against his own inclinations, under the King's commands, and as having been the dupe of Lord Sunderland. But these excuses are absurd. The Jesuit writers know

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very well that Petre could easily have refused a seat in the Council, and should never have permitted himself to be nominated for the dignity of a Cardinal's hat, and for a Protestant Archbishopric. By the very rules of his Society, he was debarred from all these honours. Moreover, his political actions were performed with the sanction of his Society, whose English Provincial seems to have encouraged him to revive the anti-national policy pursued by Father Parsons. By Londoners Father Petre[1] was greatly disliked. All sorts of scandalous stories were told about him by the mob, and he was accused of being the chief agent in providing James II. with a spurious heir male. In contemporary pamphlets and broadsides, his name is generally written 'Peters.'

Father Petre left behind him some important State-papers, bequeathed to his Society, but they are understood to have been destroyed at the period of the Papal Suppression of the Jesuits, at Bruges, in 1773. By the most of our leading historians Petre's policy seems to have been altogether misunderstood. He has been represented as an ardent and ambitious Roman Catholic, who aimed at restoring his Church in England to the position it had occupied before the Reformation.

[1] Beyond doubt, Petre urged James II. to prosecute the Seven Bishops, and was, like his master, much annoyed at their acquittal.

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He has also been represented as acting in the attempted execution of this scheme as the leading and popular representative of the English Romanists. That Petre worked hard to restore the fallen fortunes of Rome in this country need not, it is true, be doubted; but he had other irons in the fire as well. He was, first and foremost, working in the secret interests of his own Society, just as Father Robert Parsons had done a hundred years or so before him. Had Romanism been restored, as Petre wished, it would have been a Roman Catholic Church under Jesuit direction; and the loyal Secular priests, together with members of the other Religious Orders, would have been expected to occupy quite a subordinate position in the conduct of affairs. Moreover, Petre was not in any way acting as a representative English Romanist.[1] He was merely the nominal leader of a small clique. By all the Secular clergy, by the Benedictines, and Franciscans, and by most of the Romanist gentry he was mistrusted and disliked. At Rome, his policy was regarded with keen disapprobation by the Pope, who was not in any

[1] Petre's policy was strongly opposed at Rome by Cardinal Howard, O.P., and even Petre's own General spoke of his promotion to the rank of a Privy Councillor as an act '*que nous règles nous interdissent expressement.*' The General was angry with the English Provincial for letting Petre accept this post.

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way a party to the 'forward' policy of James and the English Jesuits.

ROBERT SOUTHWELL. Born in 1561, Southwell was a cadet of an ancient East Anglian family. When quite an infant he was stolen by a gipsy, but was recovered by his parents. Educated at Douai and Paris, he seems to have evinced an ardent desire to become a Jesuit when he was still a school-boy, and he entered the Society as a novice in 1578. In 1586, he accompanied Father Garnet to England. In June 1592 he was betrayed to the infamous Topcliffe, and captured near Harrow. After remaining nearly three years in various prisons, he was hanged at Tyburn, February 21, 1595. Father Robert Southwell was a young man of great genius, both as a prose-writer and a poet. Much of his verse ranks high among our sacred poetry. His best-known poem is that of the 'Burning Babe,' which I cannot refrain from quoting here—

'As I in hoary winter's night stood shivering in the snow,
Surprised I was with sudden heat which made my heart to glow;
And lifting up a fearful eye to view what fire was near,
A pretty babe all burning bright did in the air appear,
Who scorched with exceeding heat such floods of tears did shed,
As though his floods should quench his flames with what his tears were fed?
Alas! quoth he, but newly born in fiery heats of fry,
Y et none approach to warm their hearts, or feel my fire, but I

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My faultless breast the furnace is, the fuel wounding thorns;
Love is the fire and sighs the smoke, the ashes shame and scorns;
The fuel Justice layeth on, and Mercy blows the coals;
The metal in this furnace wrought are men's defiled souls;
For which as now on fire I am, to work them to their good,
So will I melt into a bath, to wash them in my blood:
With this he vanish'd out of sight, and swiftly shrunk away,
And straight I callèd unto mind that it was Christmas Day.'

Ben Jonson declared that he would willingly have destroyed many of his own verses, could he thereby have become the author of this Christmas hymn. Robert Southwell was barely thirty-four years of age when he perished on the scaffold.

Oswald Tesimond (*alias* Greenway) is better known to readers of our history by his *alias* of Greenway. He is the one Jesuit about whose connection with the Gunpowder Plot no reasonable doubt has ever been entertained. He was so fortunate as to escape from England when his colleagues Garnet, Oldcorne, and Owen were captured and killed. That he was fully acquainted with the plans of Robert Catesby, and the rest of the conspirators in the Gunpowder Plot, cannot well be doubted, and he seems to have approved of their proceedings. Born in 1563, Tesimond was

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educated principally at Rome, and joined the Jesuits in 1584. After serving with Father Cresswell at Madrid, he came to England in the spring of 1598, and assisted Father Oldcorne in the Midlands. In 1603, he was professed. On November 6, 1605, he visited the conspirators engaged in the Gunpowder Plot, at Huddington, and said Mass for them. Making his way thence to London, he was seized in the act of reading a copy of the proclamation issued for his capture; but he succeeded in getting away from his captor, and after hiding in Essex, crossed the Channel in a cargo-boat. The rest of his life was mostly spent at St. Omer, Rome, and Naples, where he died in 1635. He wrote an autobiography, in defence of his alleged connection with the Gunpowder Plot.

That Tesimond, as Dr. Gardiner points out, knew all about the Plot, and approved of its details, seems, as I have said, quite clear. The Jesuit story that he went to Huddington merely to administer the Sacraments to the conspirators out of a sense of religious duty is not borne out by the original evidence. He went there on their invitation, and with Garnet's permission, and left them, promising to try and raise recruits for them in Lancashire. The conspirators, too, were not absolutely dependent on Tesimond's priestly services, for they were visited, very shortly after he had left, by another Jesuit, who heard their

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confessions. Father Tesimond seems to have been a faithful disciple of Father Parsons, and not a man in any sense to be admired.

FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, born at Howick, in Northumberland, 1577, was a cousin of Sir Francis Walsingham, the Statesman. Educated at St. Paul's School, he entered the English Church, but went over to Rome before receiving priest's orders, and in 1609 became a Jesuit, at Rome. The same year he returned to England, where he seems to have lived, without being captured, until his death in 1647. He was the author of two or three controversial works, which had a large sale. He was a great admirer of the works of Father Parsons, by reading some of which he is said to have been converted to Romanism. His missionary career in England was a very romantic one, and although for some thirty-eight years he succeeded in evading arrest, he experienced some very narrow escapes. Walsingham met Father Parsons when at Rome. He often went under the *alias* of John Fennell. Father Parsons collaborated in writing one of his treatises.

HENRY WALPOLE, the eldest son of a Norfolk squire of ancient lineage, was born at Docking, 1558. He matriculated at Cambridge, but went thence to Gray's Inn, without taking a degree. He was present at Campion's execution, and on being slightly splashed with that Jesuit's blood,

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vowed there and then to imitate his example. Leaving England in 1582, he joined the Jesuits at Rome in 1583, and was ordained a priest at Paris in 1588. He served under Parma in the Netherlands as an Army chaplain, but was captured by the English, and imprisoned for several months. He came to England, from Spain, in 1593, but was arrested within a few hours after landing at Bridlington, Yorkshire. After having been imprisoned and tortured in the Tower, Father Walpole was eventually sent down to York to be tried. Found guilty of being a Jesuit, and of having entered England after being ordained abroad, he was executed on April 17, 1595.

Henry Walpole was a very brave and able man, and was a poet and linguist of no mean order. An excellent biography of Father Walpole has been written by Dr. Augustus Jessopp. The work is published under the title of *One Generation of a Norfolk House.*

ROBERT PARSONS, or PERSONS, was a Somersetshire man, of humble extraction. Born at Nether Stowey in 1546, he luckily received a good education in his early boyhood, and proceeded to Oxford, where he graduated, and became Fellow, Dean, and Bursar of Balliol College. Expelled the University, for reasons never clearly explained, Parsons was received into the Roman Church by Father Good, S.J., at Louvain, 1574, and into the

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Society of Jesus a year later. In 1580, with the approval of Cardinal Allen,[1] he came disguised as a soldier to England. Although moving about the country in hourly peril of capture, the effect of the joint mission of Parsons and Campion was prodigious. For the time being, they gave Roman Catholicism in England a new lease of life. Converts, or reverts, were made in large numbers, and included such notable personages as the Champion of England (Sir Robert Dymoke), Lord Compton, William Catesby, Lord Vaux, and Sir Thomas Tresham.[2] But Parsons' efforts were not destined to prove successful for more than a few months. In spite of his arduous missionary labours he made no attempt to consolidate the position of the community. Indeed, with the Secular clergy, who distrusted him from the first, he soon became on very bad terms. They were not long in discovering that, if the Roman religion were restored in England, it was the aim of Parsons to place the Secular clergy under the dominion of the Society of Jesus. Parsons scouted all idea of his co-religionists making any terms with the Elizabethan

[1] 'Under Heaven,' said William Allen, 'Father Parsons made me a Cardinal.'

[2] Most of Parsons' converts were (including those mentioned) persons reconciled to Romanism, and who were not really Protestants, but ex-Roman Catholics who had lapsed from their faith.

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Government, and relied upon restoring Romanism, with the aid of Spain and the Pope, by force of arms. It was evident that he was ready to obey to the letter the Bull of Pius V., deposing Elizabeth, which had, hitherto, been almost ignored by English Romanists.

After Campion's capture, the position of Parsons became very precarious. The Government spies were hot upon his track, and he was constantly in danger of arrest. Recognizing that his chances of achieving further successes in England were now lost, he quitted his retreat at Michel Grove, Sussex, and fled across the Channel. Before he went, however, some of the loyal Romanists, hostile to the Jesuits, plainly intimated to him that they would give him up to the Government, unless he left the country so soon as he could. It is hardly necessary to state that his Jesuit biographers have omitted all reference to this move on the part of the loyal Romanists, but the fact remains. Father Parsons was hated to such an extent that they would certainly have carried out their intention, had he not taken refuge in flight.[1]

Back again on the Continent, Parsons determined to use all his resources to get the Spaniards to invade England. In the pursuance of his schemes,

[1] Prior to hiding in Sussex, Parsons' work had been carried on in Oxfordshire, Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Northamptonshire, and Derbyshire.

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he moved about Italy, the Netherlands, and Spain, interviewing and corresponding with Cardinals, Statesmen, Princes, and Generals, in order to advance matters. At the same time, this extraordinary man was writing controversial pamphlets against Protestantism, was quarrelling with the Benedictine monks of the English Congregation, was directing his colleagues in England to oppose and subdue in every way possible the Secular clergy, and was establishing Roman Catholic colleges in the Netherlands and Spain. To his indefatigable energies there seemed to be no limit. In 1588, his great scheme for the invasion of his fatherland arrived at maturity, and with what result we all know. But, even the defeat of the Spanish Armada[1] did not dishearten him. He was quickly busy again, and more active than ever. In 1597, he adroitly managed to get appointed Rector of the English College at Rome. By this, the chief seminary for training English priests passed into the exclusive direction of the Society of Jesus. But, not only this; he also managed to get George Blackwell, one of his tools, appointed Archpriest of the English Mission, with control

[1] An English priest, when told by Parsons to sail with the Armada, gallantly replied: 'Father, I would willingly shed the last drop of my blood for the Catholic Faith, but I will never go on board an enemy's fleet armed against my native country!'

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over all the Secular and Regular clergy resident at home. He also placed the Rector of Douai under a secret vow of obedience to him and his Society. These strokes of policy provoked bitter resentment against the Jesuits among the English seculars, and they actually obtained Queen Elizabeth's permission to send two of their number to proceed to Rome and lay their grievances before the Pope. Parsons then determined at all costs to stop their delegates obtaining a fair hearing at head-quarters, where on their arrival they were kidnapped by his agents and imprisoned in the English College. This outrage, which was not only a crime, but was also a deliberate insult to the English Romanists as a body, and to Elizabeth as a Queen, turned all but a very few of their co-religionists at home against the Jesuits.[1]

Meanwhile, Father Parsons' literary activity was ceaseless. His impudent treatise on the succession to the English Crown had an immense circulation, as did others of his political pamphlets. He also resorted to equivocation, and openly advocated its morality, in his writings. With the death of Queen Elizabeth, Robert Parsons hoped to be able to get the Spaniards to send an army to depose James I., but on finding how strong was

[1] Cardinal Allen had died in 1594. He would hardly have been a party, I imagine, to this crime. He seems, shortly before he died, to have become estranged from Parsons.

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the new monarch's position he advised the Jesuits in England to resort to diplomacy rather than the sword. What he thought of the Gunpowder Plot is not known, as his correspondence, just before and after that event, has not been given to the world; but there exists no external proof that he knew beforehand of Robert Catesby's plans. During the last few years of his life, Parsons became unpopular at Rome, and found it wise to retire to Naples, but it was in Rome that he died on April 15, 1610, in the odour of sanctity, and fortified by all the holy rites of his Church. An extraordinary epitaph, enumerating, at considerable length, virtues enough to have graced the memory of the greatest of Saints, was erected over his grave.

With the sole exception of his educational schemes,[1] Father Robert Parsons' policy in regard to the restoration of Romanism in England proved a total failure, and he left things at his death in a far worse plight than they were when he had quitted England in 1581. His Spanish policy had alienated every class of Englishman against him and his Society. Had the Armada been victorious, he confessed that he would have advocated the establishment of the Inquisition in London; whilst he hinted that, in the event of the forfeited

[1] He established, or helped to found, schools at Lisbon, St. Lucar, Valladolid, St. Omer, and Seville.

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monastic lands being restored to their original owners, the Jesuits would require a share of the spoil.[1]

In personal appearance, Father Robert Parsons was a little over middle height, thick-set, with a swarthy complexion, and a stern expression of countenance. There are two or three original portraits extant of him. The authenticity of one, published in Father Taunton's book, has been challenged on the grounds that it cannot claim to represent Parsons, because of the late date inscribed on it, and because of its canvas being adorned with the staff and insignia of an abbot. But, in spite of this, the face resembles to a remarkable degree that of the other portraits of the Jesuit. Father Parsons was an entertaining conversationalist, an industrious correspondent, and a writer of excellent English. One of his failings seems to have been his difficulty to change his mind, and being subject to inveterate prejudices, he often formed incorrect opinions about men and matters.

During his English Mission the intrepid Parsons underwent some romantic experiences and adventures. On one occasion, entering a village inn, he saw posted up a rude portrait of himself, with

[1] As the book refers only to Rome in England, I have said nothing about the proceedings of Parsons' agents in Scotland, where the Jesuits were also hard at work on similar lines.

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a notice of a reward offered for his capture. He immediately pulled the placard to pieces, saying to the host, 'How dare you keep a portrait of such a villain in your house!' Another time, the attention of Queen Elizabeth, who had expressed some curiosity to know what the famous Jesuit was like in appearance, is reported to have been drawn to a well-dressed man, walking proudly[1] among a crowd of persons close to her. Inquiries made at the moment failed to discover this gallant's identity, but later on it was found that he was no less a person than the Father Parsons, S.J. Once, Parsons hid himself under a heap of hay, whilst his pursuers searched for him immediately at hand. Another time, he himself joined in the hue and cry, shouting out, 'There goes Parsons!' At another juncture, he is said to have failed, after a hard quest, to find a certain house where he was to sleep, only to hear, the next day, of its having been surrounded in the night, and a priest resident in it captured.

Father Parsons has been credited erroneously with the authorship of that notorious book, *Leycester's Commonwealth*, upon which Sir Walter Scott based the foundations of his plot for *Kenilworth*. For some time, the work was known commonly under the title of *Father Parsons' Green Coat*,

[1] 'He (Parsons) was dressed up like a soldier—such a peacock, such a swagger, such a look, such a strut' (Campion).

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from the colours of the edges of its leaves. But Parsons had nothing whatever to do with its composition. Why should he? Had it been written by him, the Queen would not have been referred to, on its title-page, in such loyal terms. A careful perusal of its text, moreover, reveals that the writer was not a Roman Catholic, a fact which Scott and others might have proved for themselves, had they troubled to read its contents carefully through.

One of Father Parsons' last acts was to write to England, instructing the Archpriest in charge of the English Mission to carry on the same policy of aggression and repression. This act is alluded to by Dr. Oliver in his ludicrous account of Parsons' death, which I reproduce as follows—

'Father Persons crowned a life of usefulness by a death precious in the sight of God. From his dying bed, he dictated letters to his brethren in England, and to the Archpriest, Dr. George Birket,[1] breathing seraphic peace and charity. In sentiments of melting Piety, he surrendered his Soul into the hands of God. . . . "The eye of God looked upon him for good, and lifted him up

[1] Blackwell, the former Archpriest, had been deposed, because he had refused to support the Jesuits in regard to their action in repudiation of the oath of allegiance to James I. Birket, or Birkhead, was, at first, a more pliable tool, but eventually disobeyed Parsons.

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from his low estate and exalted his head, and many have wondered at him, and have glorified God."' [1]

[1] The epitaph erected over Robert Parsons' grave was hardly less absurd. In it we are told, *inter alia*, that Father Parsons, S.J., during the thirty-six years of his career in his Society, '*Per omnia Virtutis exempla transegit.*' When Parsons was dying, the Pope bestowed upon him 'All indulgences and favours, which are accustomed to be sent to Cardinals on the point of death.'

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Chapter XIII

CHURCHES AND CHAPELS

SINCE the Emancipation Act of 1829, Rome has had an opportunity of showing in England what she could do in the matter of church-building. The results, on the whole, have been unfavourable. Among all the Roman Catholic churches raised in England since the commencement of the nineteenth century, there are not more than twenty really fine edifices, and the largest and costliest of these is not of Gothic architecture. This failure to build fine churches has been due, in the main, to want of money. In very few cases have really adequate funds been forthcoming to carry out satisfactorily a scheme for building a splendid church. Of Roman Catholic architects of marked ability there have, curiously enough, been plenty, as there have also been designers and manufacturers of stained glass. Another cause of decadence has been the desire to comply with Ultramontane ideas, in regard to the gaudy arrangement of the interior of a church.

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The theatrical arrangement and decoration of such a church as the Brompton Oratory would indeed have astonished Charles Butler and his Gallican contemporaries, and, in spite of the magnificence of its marbles, the Oratory is, from an architectural point of view, almost an eye-sore.

Nearly all the finest of the Roman Catholic churches erected in England during the first half of the nineteenth century owe their excellence to Pugin's art. He, happily, was a masterful man, and declined to be ruled or guided by officious priests. Pugin, too, would be considerably astonished if he could return to earth and visit the mosque-like Westminster Cathedral.

In London, the finest Roman Catholic churches are, at date of writing, St. George's Cathedral, Southwark; St. James's, Spanish Place; the Jesuits' church, Farm Street; and, of course, the Westminster Cathedral. In addition there are St. Mary of the Angels, Bayswater; the Dominicans' church, Haverstock Hill; the Pro-Cathedral, Kensington; and St. Etheldreda's, Ely Place, Holborn. A monastic church with an extremely impressive and majestic interior is the Carmelite Chapel, Kensington; its exterior is very plain. As a rule, very little pains have been bestowed upon the exteriors of modern Roman Catholic churches in England. Outside the metropolis, we come across some fine Roman

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Catholic churches, or monastic chapels, at Arundel, St. Marychurch (Torquay), Manchester, Downside, Parkminster, Hastings, Cambridge, Oxford, Watford, Stonyhurst, Liverpool, Portsmouth, Streatham, Ramsgate, Birmingham, and Norwich. Of these, beyond all question, the magnificent edifice at Cambridge, dedicated to Our Lady and the English Martyrs, ranks first.

It is interesting to note the distribution, from a geographical as well as an historical point of view, of the various Roman Catholic missions throughout England and Wales. In some counties, the Roman Catholic population is still extremely low, and the number of churches is very small. London and Lancashire are the two strongholds. The proportion of the Roman Catholic population in Lancashire to that of the whole population of the county is very far higher than that obtaining in other counties. The great number of Irish employed in Liverpool and Manchester is mainly accountable for this. Other cities and towns, such as Leeds, Cardiff, Sheffield, and Birmingham, have a large Romanist population; in agricultural districts, again, it is, as a rule, very small. Curiously enough, some districts that remained Roman Catholic long after others had become mainly Protestant, are now the most Protestant of all, such as Cornwall, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and South and Mid-Wales (excluding Cardiff).

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The Eastern Counties remain, as they have been ever since they incurred the wrath of Queen Mary, particularly Protestant.[1] In the Civil War Oliver Cromwell obtained his best recruits from the east of England; whilst the ranks of the Royal army received a large influx of strength from the support of the Roman Catholic gentry of Wales, Lancashire, and Shropshire.

To take the various counties separately, we find the strength of the Roman Catholic population, as represented by the number of the missions, to be, roughly speaking, as follows: In Lancashire the number of missions is very large, surprisingly large for a Protestant country. In Durham, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and parts of Yorkshire, the number of missions is again undeniably large.

In Derbyshire, Sussex, Oxfordshire, Kent, Essex, Monmouthshire, Northamptonshire, Northumberland, Worcestershire, Middlesex, Lincolnshire, Somersetshire, (South) Devonshire,[2] Surrey, and in the Isle of Wight, the number of missions, although not so large as might be expected, is on the increase. In Hertfordshire, Hampshire, Berkshire, Cumberland, Cornwall, Leicestershire,

[1] Mary Tudor behaved ungratefully to the Protestants of East Anglia, considering that they were the first to flock to her standard, when Lady Jane Grey was proclaimed Queen.

[2] In North Devon there are but very few Roman Catholic churches; in Mid-Devon practically none.

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Shropshire, Cheshire (except on the Lancastrian border), Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Norfolk and Nottinghamshire, the number of missions is small in proportion to the size of the counties. In Buckinghamshire, Dorsetshire, Westmoreland, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Hunts, Rutland, and Bedfordshire, missions are but few and far between. In Wales, Glamorganshire is very strongly represented by missions; in the north-east, close to the English border, there are several small missions, but, in the rest of the Principality, but very few missions indeed are to be found. Of London I have already spoken.

Not many English Roman Catholic missions can boast of existing churches built prior to the dawn of the nineteenth century, and there are only a few still standing which were built at a date anterior to the accession of King George III. Most of these are to be found in the north-west of England,[1] with one or two in Yorkshire.

[1] There would, in all probability, be several more of these missions still existing in Lancashire, if it had not been for the failure of the Jacobite insurrections of 1715 and 1745–1746. Many Roman Catholic families, by their support of the legitimate cause, entailed thereby loss of lands and property, with the result that the chapels supported by them had to be closed. By the failure of these insurrections, and especially that of the '45, the missions in Scotland also suffered severely; and, even in London, several 'mass-houses,' as they were called, were closed for some time, owing to the action of the Government in causing the Romanists living in the metropolis to be watched.

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One of the chief defects noticeable in regard to the decoration of the interiors of Roman Catholic churches in England is connected with the construction of the numerous images generally placed therein. Hardly ever does one come across statues or images of Christ, the Virgin, or one of the Saints, possessing any artistic merits. They are, as a rule, an absolute outrage on art: badly designed, and badly coloured. Hideous and cheap articles turned out by the score at Birmingham and elsewhere. Why a priest should wish to crowd his church with such monstrosities as these, it is not easy to understand. Mr. Coventry Patmore, the poet, suggested a remedy for the present state of things. He advised having statues of the chief Saints executed by some well-known sculptor, regardless of cost, and then having casts made of these originals, and sent round to the poorer missions to take the place of the hideous images now in use. This plan met with the approval of Cardinal Newman, but nothing was done to carry it out. The very fact of the scheme being approved by Newman was, probably, sufficient to insure its rejection at Archbishop's House. Of Cardinal Manning, Patmore was not an admirer. According to his principal biographer the poet considered that it was 'wonderful how Manning imposed on mankind by the third-century look of him and his

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infinite muddle-headedness, which passed for mystery. I knew him well, and am convinced that he was the very minutest soul that ever buzzed in so high a place. He was a good man according to his capacity; but he hated all whom he suspected of being able to take his measure. He put back Catholicism in England a hundred years.' Coventry Patmore's view of Manning's character thus differed widely from that of Cardinal Vaughan, who has left on record that 'Cardinal Manning was not only one of the noblest minds I have ever met, but one of the most patient and forgiving, through the restraint he knew how to put upon his natural feelings. He was also one of the most tender-hearted and charitable of men. I will also add that I always found him to be one of the most generous and forbearing.' Coventry Patmore seems certainly to have had but little respect for episcopal or clerical authority, and he would probably have sympathized with a certain lady, who when threatened by an English Roman Catholic bishop with excommunication, promptly put the matter into the hands of her solicitors, who compelled the prelate to send their client an apology for his rudeness.

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CHAPTER XIV

LORD ACTON AND LIBERAL CATHOLICISM

JOHN EMERICH EDWARD DALBERG-ACTON was born on the tenth day of January 1834, at Naples. He was the only son of Sir Richard Acton,[1] Bart. His mother was a German lady of noble birth, and his wife was a Bavarian; so that he was quite a cosmopolitan, especially as he also had Italian blood in his veins. He was a nephew of Cardinal Acton.[2] At the early age of thirty-five, although his career as a Member of Parliament had been uneventful and undistinguished, he was raised to the peerage by Mr. Gladstone. A quarter of a century later, he was appointed to the chair of Modern History at Cambridge by Lord Rosebery. It had been his wish to go to Cambridge as a young man to take his degree, but in the fifties Roman Catholics

[1] Sir Richard Acton's father was granted a Papal dispensation to marry his niece.

[2] Charles Januarius Acton, born at Naples, 1803. He died at Naples, 1847.

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could not easily go there,[1] and (after three colleges had refused to admit him) he studied instead under Dr. Döllinger at Munich. 'He loved Cambridge from his soul; loved the grounds and the trees, the buildings and the romance of the old colleges, the treasures of the libraries, the intercourse with scholars.' To Cambridge his death (in 1902) was a heavy loss.

The most important period in Lord Acton's career was undoubtedly that which covered the session of the Vatican Council at Rome, when he wrote his famous letters under the signature of 'Quirinus.' As a Liberal Catholic, he opposed with all his might the definition of the dogma of the Infallibility. Ultramontanism he loathed and detested as bitterly as did Charles Butler and his intrepid Gallicans in the stormy days of Bishop Milner and the 'Oath.' Of the chief English exponent of Ultramontanism present at the Council—Archbishop Manning—he was a resolute opponent. 'I will show you,' he says in one of his epistles to Miss Mary Gladstone, 'what Ultramontanism makes of good men by an example very near home. St. Charles Borromeo, when he was the Pope's nephew and Minister, wrote a letter requiring Protestants to be murdered, and complaining that no heretical heads were for-

[1] Cardinal Acton actually did succeed in going to Cambridge as an undergraduate, but never took a degree there.

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warded to Rome, in spite of the reward that was offered for them. His editor, with perfect consistency, publishes the letter with a note of approval. Cardinal Manning not only holds up to the general veneration of mankind the authority that canonized the murderer, but makes him in a special manner his own patron, joins the Congregation of Oblates of St. Charles, and devotes himself to the study of his acts and the propagation of his renown.' Of the persecuting spirit of the Papacy, Lord Acton was ever a scathing critic. Bishop Creighton's History of the Mediæval Papacy he handled severely, on account of the manner in which the author had glossed over the cruelty and the profligacy of several of the Pontiffs. In trying to be fair all round, Dr. Creighton had become impartial to the verge of partiality. In Lord Acton's eyes no defence was possible of the purport of the Papal Bull excommunicating Queen Elizabeth,[1] or of the warm Papal approval of the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Eve. In one of his letters he scornfully refers to 'the Jesuit with his lies, the Dominican with his faggots, and the Popes with their persecutions.

Lord Acton was a frequent contributor to the

[1] The writer of the obituary notice, published in *The Times* the day after Lord Acton's death, states that he had proved to a demonstration that Pius V. specially employed an agent to assassinate Queen Elizabeth.

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Rambler, and the *Home and Foreign Review*, literary journals which he eventually edited, and which were worthy of a better fate than suppression at the hands of an obscurantist clique. His connection with these papers brought him in touch with Professor Mivart, Newman, and Richard Simpson, and in opposition to Manning, Herbert Vaughan, and Dr. W. G. Ward. After the definition of the Infallibility, it was generally expected that Lord Acton would either secede from the Roman communion or (in default) undergo the penalty of excommunication. But neither anticipation was realized. Dr. Döllinger, his mentor, went, but Lord Acton remained behind. That Lord Acton behaved illogically, if not somewhat unfairly, in not leaving the Church of Rome, after 1870, is, I venture to think, almost undeniable. It is true, he argued, that it was the Papacy which had changed its religion, and not he himself, that the Pope, in fact, had become a heretic, whilst he still was orthodox. But argument based on such premises, nevertheless, does not excuse him, for by remaining in the same Church with the Pope he became a heretic himself. To Dr. Döllinger, who held identical views, there was no *via media*. Either you believed in the Infallibility of the Pope, or you did not. If you did not, then you could no longer remain a member of the same Communion as Pope Pius IX. But the

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Infallibility of the Pope was not the only point of divergence, since Lord Acton is allowed to have held some unorthodox opinions on certain other doctrines and dogmas, and it is almost impossible to condone altogether his attitude[1] in staying on. 'No consequence can destroy any truth!' Born a Roman Catholic, he died a Roman Catholic, and was never excommunicated. He was quite the most talented lay member of the Roman Church in England, during the nineteenth century, who was a born Roman Catholic, and not a convert. When, however, we take into consideration the German and Italian strains in his blood, the long residence of his family at Naples, his birth and death abroad, his education at Munich (after leaving Oscott), and his marriage with a Bavarian lady, we must reluctantly admit that England is hardly entitled to claim for herself alone this illustrious scholar as one of her representative sons.[2]

Lord Acton, it seems to me, was, as a Liberal Catholic and a scholar, a lineal descendant of the English Gallicans of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century. Butler, Tierney,

[1] Yet, as Mr. Paul truly remarks, 'No earthly reward or peril would have induced Lord Acton to say what he did not think, or to profess what he did not believe!' His sincerity, nevertheless, only makes his attitude the more incomprehensible.

[2] When the French and Hebrew strains in his blood are considered, quite the same can be said of Cardinal Newman.

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Poynter, Archer, Dodd, Berington, and others of their school, would all have opposed the definition of the Infallibility with equal vigour, and would also, in other ways, have proved sharp thorns in the sides of such a prelate as Cardinal Manning. But Lord Acton was more learned than all these men, and it is to be deplored that he did not give the world a great work to perpetuate his fame. Strange as it may seem, this erudite historian and profound philosopher never wrote a book. His literary remains consist of letters, lectures, and articles. The *Cambridge Modern History* was, however, planned by him.

Lord Acton's correspondence with Miss Mary Gladstone (Mrs. Drew) was published, in volume form, after his death, and was ably edited by Mr. Herbert Paul. A perusal of these elaborate epistles affords the readiest key to Lord Acton's character. In their pages we see the inner man portrayed as he really was: his depth of learning, and his love of it; the profundity of his reading; his admiration for Mr. Gladstone; his keen quest to solve any historical problem of importance. His criticisms of *John Inglesant*[1] reveal the intense earnestness with which he

[1] 'I have read nothing more thoughtful and suggestive (than *John Inglesant*) since *Middlemarch*, and I could fill with honest praise the pages I am going to blacken with complaint' (Letter to Miss Gladstone).

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read even works of fiction, when they touched upon matters theological, or historical. *John Inglesant* Lord Acton, like Dr. Gardiner, treated almost too seriously. He discussed its contents, and its claims to popularity, as gravely as if it had been purely a history, instead of a novel. As a matter of mere fact, its learned and conscientious author never wished it to be considered as an historical novel at all. He looked upon it, he says in the preface, as a 'Philosophical Romance.' Lord Acton, however, went right through the book in search for flaws, of which he found a good many, although he omits to mention its writer's most conspicuous blunder, namely, his apparent misconception as to the religious opinions held by the saintly Nicholas Ferrar, of Little Gidding, whom he has delineated as if he had been the very highest of High Churchmen, instead of being, as he actually was, an ardent Protestant. 'If Mass were said in my house,' declared Ferrar, 'I would pull down the room in which it was said, and build it up anew!' Yet Mr. Shorthouse makes Mr. Ferrar talk of the Real Presence, after one of his services, as if his views concerning the Sacrament of the Altar were identical with those of Roman Catholicism. Again, there is surely no excuse for Mr. Shorthouse making Mary Collet, or Collett,[1] die, a

[1] In later life, she assumed her uncle's name of Ferrar.

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young woman, in a Paris Nunnery, when it is on record that, after living to the age of eighty, she expired at home, and faithful to the end to the tenets of the Reformed Church of England![1]

Liberal Roman Catholicism in the England of to-day has taken the place of the Gallicanism of a century ago. It flourishes, and will bear fruit in due season. Cardinal Vaughan's attempt to crush it in the year 1901 proved of no avail. The progress of free education among the middle and lower classes is all in its favour. In the Church of Rome itself there exists a party, composed by no means entirely of laymen, whose position corresponds in a great measure to that held by the Broad Church party in the ranks of the Established Church. Formerly Liberal Roman Catholics had considerable difficulty in expressing their views in print, as the journals of their own communion were afraid to publish their communications, or if they did, the papers bold enough to do so were suppressed, but now they often succeed in obtaining a sympathetic hearing in the columns of the secular press. The day is, indeed, fast coming when Vaticanism will find itself compelled to combat Liberalism in deadly strife, and unless

[1] It is a pity that Lord Acton did not bring some of his criticisms to bear upon Nicholas Ferrar's biographers. A more misleading and inaccurate biography than the late Canon Carter's *Life of Nicholas Ferrar* I have never read.

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Ultramontane Rome is placidly prepared to grant concessions before it be too late, it is clear that the Liberal movement must prove triumphant in the end. When that day dawns, Liberalism will have to put into operation long-delayed reforms for centuries over-due. It will have to inspire confidence in a suspicious world, which has had the strongest reasons in the past to distrust Papal diplomacy. It will have to make a clean sweep of the spurious relics; it will have to abolish the 'final' vows taken for life by youthful monks and nuns; it will have to prevent superstitious persons from being worried any longer by demands for the payment of sums of money to deliver their friends' souls out of the flames of Purgatory; it will have to mend or end the Society of Jesus; it will have to regulate the distribution of indulgences; it will have to put a stop to the frightful cruelties practised on dumb animals in Italy, Portugal, and Spain; it will have to bury the Bull of the Infallibility. But, it will not only have to reform and remove, it also will have to construct and create. It will have to build up a new house out of the ruins of the old.

The Liberal Movement thrives at present, more healthily and with greater promise, abroad than in England. In France, the attitude of the Abbé Loisy and his party has attracted the attention of the educated world. In the United States, the

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rise of 'Americanism' has induced Ultramontane Rome to make concessions which, if Propaganda had definitely refused to grant, would have risked a schism in the Church. The result has been that Rome has been forced to concede liberties and privileges to the Roman Catholics of the United States which she has never yet granted to those of any European country. This progress of Liberalism has done much to break down the barriers of prejudice. It has shown the world that there now exists within the Church of Rome a large body of pious and learned men, who are free from that taint of bigotry which has hitherto earned for Catholicism so evil and ungenerous a reputation. The terrible text, 'No salvation outside the Church' (*Extra Ecclesiam nulla Salus*), no longer obtains credence. Roman Catholics are slowly beginning to learn that Jesus Christ came on earth for other reasons than (as they have been taught by Ultramontane priests) merely to establish the Papacy. Now that the barriers separating their fold from the external populace are being broken down, they find that other religious systems have produced, and are producing, good men and good women as worthy of the title of 'Saint' as any of those who were canonized at Rome in mediæval or more modern times. 'Where are the Protestant Saints?' I once heard a priest ask from the pulpit of a

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London church, and he answered his own question by endeavouring to demonstrate that Protestantism had not, and could not boast of ever having had any Saints! Much water has flowed under the bridges since the sad occasion of this sermon, and there are but few Roman Catholic priests to-day who would have the folly to publish so vain a challenge from the shelter of a London pulpit. The Protestant or Non-Catholic world is in a position, indeed, to retort, by asking what valid right Rome has to include amongst her canonized saints certain men who, so far from having led 'a godly, righteous, and sober life,' were notorious evil-doers! Of the characters and careers, also, of many of the pseudo-Saints of the Catacombs, nothing is known to history, and their canonization by the Papacy has been, so far as the establishment of the fact of their having been gifted with extraordinary virtues is concerned, mere guesswork. Again, how is it possible for any educated man to avoid objecting to such persons as Pope St. Pius V., St. Dominic, St. Alfonso de Liguori, and St. Carlo Borromeo, being included among the canonized? Of late years the craze for canonization has amounted almost to a disease, and among the candidates, whose claims for that honour have been forwarded to Rome, are individuals like Christopher Columbus, Father Henry Garnet, S.J.,

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Pope Pius IX., and Cardinal Allen.[1] Joan of Arc has, in truth, actually been canonized, altogether regardless of the circumstance that she was convicted of heresy, and (as a heretic) burnt at the stake.[2] Again, even if we take the holiest and noblest of those names enrolled by Rome on her list of the 'beatified,' can any of their possessors claim to have passed more charitable, self-sacrificing, or saintly careers, than have 'heretics' like John Howard, John Huss, Ferrar, Bishop Ken, John Bunyan, General Booth, Lord Shaftesbury, and Elizabeth Fry, and many another uncanonized person? Such as these surely can be favourably, and more than favourably, compared with men like St. Dominic the Inquisitor, St. Ignatius of Loyola, the Jesuit, St. Pius V., the would-be assassin of Queen Elizabeth, St. Alfonso Maria de Liguori, the author of an unspeakable book, and St. Aloysius Gonzaga, who was too moral and too modest even to look his own mother in the face.[3]

[1] Up to date, however, the claims advanced on behalf of Columbus, Allen, and Garnet have not been successful.

[2] Savonarola, also burnt as a heretic, is now talked about as a likely candidate for canonization. Galileo's turn should come in time.

[3] Of St. Aloysius Gonzaga, Alban Butler, in his great work on the *Lives of the Saints*, says: 'He [Aloysius] never looked at any woman, kept his eyes strictly guarded, and generally cast down, would never stay with his mother alone in her chamber, and if she sent any message to him by some lady in her company,

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Of the many reforms needed by Rome in England, Liberal Roman Catholics have certainly good grounds for agitating in favour of the adoption of a more comprehensive and instructive 'Catechism' than that which every Roman Catholic has now to learn as a child. There can be no doubt that much harm has been done by enlarging upon (in this 'Catechism') the necessity of obeying strictly to the letter certain modern ecclesiastical regulations and arrangements, which have come into force regardless of the provisions of the Council of Trent. As a result of these usurpations, the laws of God have, in some cases, become subordinate to the laws of the Church, and in the confessional the confessor imposes upon a penitent, who has missed Mass once or twice, a heavier penance than upon a penitent who has confessed to having committed a theft, or having led an immoral or intemperate life. There are, indeed, absolutely no theological grounds for con-

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he received, and gave his answer in a few words, with his eyes shut, and his chamber door only half open. . . . It was owing to his virginal modesty that he did not know by their faces many ladies among his own relations, with whom he had frequently conversed.'

It seems almost incredible, but it is a fact, that the Rev. Alban Butler, in his memoir dealing with the life of St. Pius V., never even mentions that Pope's excommunication of Queen Elizabeth. The Bollandists are more impartial; they freely admit the Pope's action, and his hostile intentions.

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verting an omission to attend Mass on Sundays into a mortal sin. The Rev. Father James Duggan, a priest of the diocese of Southwark, in his erudite work entitled, *Steps towards Reunion*, has some very pertinent remarks to make on this subject, in the course of which I find the following comments well worthy of quotation here: 'Our penny "Catechism," not content with saying that there is a commandment about keeping Sundays holy, goes on to say that it is a mortal sin to neglect to hear Mass on Sundays and holidays of obligation. What authority is there for this? Again, the authority of theologians, but not the authority of the Church. No Pope or Council has defined that it is a mortal sin to miss Mass on Sunday. . . . Can good come from making people think things to be sins that are not sins? What we gain is that a few people come to Mass regularly. What we lose is that we warp the judgments of multitudes of men.'

Father Duggan, in the same work,[1] also earned the gratitude of Liberal Roman Catholics by his uncompromising criticism of the modern system of permitting the Religious Orders to ordain large numbers of their members as priests, quite irrespective of there being much future work for them to do. 'Priests,' he writes, 'should not be multi-

[1] *Steps towards Reunion.* By the Rev. J. Duggan. London: Kegan Paul & Co., 1897.

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plied among the Religious Orders except as among the Secular clergy—viz. in accordance with the decree of the Council of Trent: that a priest's work should in some way be found for a man before holy orders are conferred upon him. It is not good for a monk, any more than for a Secular, to have nothing to do but to say Mass, nor is it good for religion, nor in fact for the State. . . . It is commonly thought most natural now for all monks, or nearly all, to be priests. But, in the beginning, it was not so. St. Benedict, the founder of the Benedictines, was never a priest. And for ages it was usual to have only one priest in each monastery. . . . We often say also that the multiplication of monks and nuns is good for religion. Yet, it seems evident here too that there should be some proportion between the number of religious and the number of lay people, and also a proportion between the numbers of Secular and Regular clergy. Catholics cannot but confess that history is full of disputes between Seculars and Regulars.' That these disputes, moreover, are by no means to be regarded as events of the past, even in England,[1] I shall show later.

[1] 'The different dioceses of the Secular clergy are more or less jealous of each other, and the Secular clergy are, as a rule, strongly opposed to the Regulars. Nine Secular priests out of ten hate all monks, and nine priests (of either kind) out of ten hate the Jesuits. One meets many priests who are willing to

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But, to return once more to Lord Acton and his Liberalism, there can be little doubt that the Vatican Council, which was held in defiance of the wishes and opinions of Liberals, whose cause it was designed to crush, had the effect of rallying the better-educated Romanists, all the world over, against Ultramontanism. Of the really clever men present at the deliberations of the Council, nine-tenths belonged to the party opposed to the definition of the Infallibility. In Lord Acton's memorable words: 'This is the picture of the Vatican Council, and of its own work, which we get from men like Schwarzenberg, Rauscher, Haynald, Ketteler, Clifford, Purcell, Conolly, Dupanloup, Darboy, Hefele, Strossmayer, and Kenrick. And so the Council stands self-condemned by the mouths of its ablest members. They represent it as a conspiracy against Divine truth and light. They declare that the new dogmas were neither taught by the Apostles nor believed by the Fathers; that they are soul-destroying errors, contrary to the true doctrines of the Church, based on deceit, and are a scandal to Catholics. Surely, no judgment could be less

accept the extreme Protestant version of Jesuitism. Only a few years ago, a drama was presented in a theatre at Barcelona, in which were embodied the bitterest and gravest charges against the Jesuits; and when the delighted Spaniards called for the author, a priest in his clerical dress walked to the footlights (*Twelve Years in a Monastery*. By J. MacCabe).

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ambiguous, no language more open, no testimony more sufficient or decisive for the conscience of the Faithful.' With Lord Acton's criticisms of the Council compare those of Bishop Strossmayer (referred to by him), who declared that the 'Vatican Council was wanting in that liberty which was necessary to make it a genuine Council, and to justify it in making decrees calculated to bind the consciences of all the Catholic world. Everything which could bear resemblance to a guarantee for the freedom of discussion was purposely excluded. And, as though all this did not suffice, there was added a public violation of the ancient Catholic principle, "*Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus.*" In fine, the most hideous and the most glaring exercise of Papal Infallibility was imperative in order to convert that Infallibility into a dogma. If to all this be added the fact that the Council was not legally constituted, that the Italian Bishops, Prelates, and officials were in a most predominating majority, that the Apostolic Vicars were bullied by Propaganda, that the whole machinery of the political power then exercised by the Papacy in Rome contributed to intimidate and prevent all free speech, you can readily gather what kind of liberty—that essential attribute of all Councils of the Church [1]—was displayed at Rome.'

[1] 'Above all, the Vatican decree, which declares that the Pope's decisions are "Irreformable even without the con-

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How thoroughly contrary, indeed, was the narrow spirit displayed at the Vatican Council by Pope Pius IX. to that displayed by his illustrious predecessor, St. Gregory the Great, who (the Venerable Bede tells us) in directing St. Augustine concerning his mission to England, said, 'Thou knowest, my Brother, the usage of the Roman Church, in which you were brought up. But it pleaseth me that if you have found anything whether in the Roman, or the Gallican, or in any other Church, that will give more honour to Almighty God, you shall diligently adopt it; and make a rule taken from the many Churches for the benefit of that of the English, which is still new to the Faith. For things are not to be loved for the sake of places, but places for the sake of their good things.'

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sent of the Church" has destroyed the mark of Apostolicity by destroying the Church itself. For what it means, put as a piece of arithmetic, is this: Pope – Church = Pope + Church, and, therefore, Church = o. Well might Bishop Maret, one of the most learned of recent French theologians, say, "In changing the Constitution, you are obliged to change the doctrine also; and from henceforth it will be necessary to chant at the Holy Sacrifice, I believe in the Pope, instead of I believe in the Church." Well might another theologian say, "These gentlemen have simplified the Bible and the Creed. They have reduced the Bible to one text: Thou art Peter; and the Creed to one article: I believe in the Pope" ' (Littledale).

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CHAPTER XV

SECULARS AND REGULARS

THE recent suppression of the Religious Orders in France has exercised a remarkable effect upon the relations existing in England between the Secular, or parochial, and the Regular clergy, members of the Religious Orders;[1] inasmuch as it has, owing to the migration of so many communities of monks from France to England, enormously strengthened the position of the Regulars. The number of monasteries and convents existing in England is now very large, is increasing, and in many cases the monks are encroaching seriously upon the rights and duties of the Seculars. It looks, indeed, as if the old warfare waged between Seculars and Regulars were to be revived; for it is an open secret that the Seculars, as a body, deeply

[1] The *Catholic Dictionary* defines the Regulars as 'Persons of either sex observing a common rule of life, bound by the three vows of religion, and obeying with regard to dress, food, and the employment of their time, the statutes of the particular order or congregation to which they belong.'

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resent the steady intrusion of the monks and the Jesuits.[1]

Beyond doubt, there is much to be said on behalf of the Seculars. If the monks kept themselves to themselves, and led the strict secluded lives prescribed by their rules, it would not so much matter; but with the exception of such enclosed communities as the Carthusians, Cistercians, and Carmelites, the reverse is the case. And they try to lead the lives of Seculars, so far as parochial work is concerned among the upper classes, but fall back upon the privileges of their individual Order when any real sacrifice or extra duties are required of them. The Orders are now frequently sending out monks, in twos and threes, to different towns to establish houses and carry on missions. In such cases, much evil often results. For, away from their monastery, these monks no longer live according to rule, mix freely among their wealthy parishioners, by whom they are wont to be regularly and lavishly entertained, and often run their missions heavily into debt. Transplanted suddenly into the routine of a worldly existence from the strictness and seclusion of the cloister, it is not surprising that such monks find themselves exposed

[1] Cardinal Manning looked upon the Society of Jesus as 'one of nine hindrances to the spread of Roman Catholicism in England.' *Vide* Purcell's *Life of Manning* (vol. ii.).

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to temptations of which they hitherto have had no experience, and are not strong enough to resist. Of recent years in Great Britain and Ireland, many a priest's moral downfall has been due to this sudden change of life. Of such cases the outside world as a rule hears little; they are too carefully hushed up. But the Secular clergy do not forget them, and have in consequence dubbed their Regular colleagues by the title of 'Irregulars.'

The quarrel between Seculars and Regulars has been going on for centuries. In England, it was waged without ceasing from Norman times until the flight of James II., only to be resumed again in the days of the Bishop Milner, since when it has shown no signs of cessation. Even the very coming of the Friars to England, known as the great religious revival of the thirteenth century, was not the harmonious episode which it is thought to have been. The Seculars bitterly resented the arrival of the Dominicans and Franciscans; and a poor friar applying at a presbytery for a night's lodging often received far more kicks than halfpence. From the beginning down to the present day, financial reasons have had much to do with the issue at stake. Monks have to tout for funds and subscriptions to carry on their various monasteries, and indeed their very Orders themselves, and to do so they have to 'poach' (as it is called) upon the preserves of

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their Secular brethren. Many monasteries were, and are, carried on under most scandalous financial conditions. No one realized this more than Cardinal Wolsey, who (foreseeing the coming storm) tried to anticipate it by reforming the Church from within, instead of waiting until it should be reformed from without. With this end in view, he dissolved some of the smaller monasteries, but did not live to carry on his campaign to completion. What happened in England prior to the dissolution of the monasteries is happening in England again to-day. Monasteries and convents are springing up everywhere; many of which have to resort to mortgaging their premises heavily before they can make things meet, and load their missions with debts, which eventually have, to avoid a scandal, to be paid off by a long-suffering laity, or by some rich neophyte admitted into their community. An instance of this, that caused bitter sorrow and trouble to a generous layman, was connected with the erection of a church in a sea-side town. The layman, after building the church, a very beautiful one, at his own expense, determined to hand it over to a religious Order, instead of assigning it to the administration of the diocesan Secular clergy. He was most anxious that it should be maintained free of debt, and he took care to pay off all expenses before its being opened to the public.

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Judge of his surprise and indignation, then, on learning, shortly before the day fixed for the opening ceremony, that the religious Order to which he had assigned it had already secretly mortgaged it on their own account. There was, therefore, in the event of the religious being unable to keep up the interest on the mortgage, the probability that the church might be turned into a music-hall, or theatre, for it might at any time fall into the hands of the lender of the loan, who would naturally sell it for his best advantages. This case is but one instance amongst many.

'Poaching' by the Regulars is the bane of Roman Catholicism. There can be no real internal union in a Church when such a system is carried on with impunity. The Jesuits, the financial position of whose Society rests in a far more stable and prosperous condition than that of any other religious Order, except the Carthusian, are notorious 'poachers'; the very constitutions of their Society lead them to be such. Their priests, or agents, are busily employed in all directions near to one of their missions in trying to obtain wealthy parishioners, to be 'captured' from the congregations of neighbouring churches. In London this 'poaching' has been of the utmost service and success, and without it their opulent Mayfair mission would never have assumed its prosperous and pleasing proportions. Whilst

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Cardinal Manning lived, the Regulars (especially the Jesuits) were prevented from encroaching upon the position of the Seculars as they had under Wiseman. In a notorious instance it was the Cardinal's influence alone that prevented one Order surprising the stronghold of another Order by a sudden assault. After Manning's death, the monks and the Jesuits recovered their lost ground, and they are now stronger than ever.

Even when the Regulars build churches for themselves, or (as is generally the case) got some rich laymen to build them for them, the opening of such churches to the public does not offer much help or strength to the Roman Catholic cause. The church remains the private property of the individual Order, the money taken in pew-rents and for seats at High Mass, the general offertories, etc., all go to increase the private funds of the Order, and do not swell in any way the diocesan funds. There is nothing to prevent the Order closing the church, and going elsewhere. The whole mission is 'run' merely and entirely to suit the Order. Things in this particular are just the same again to-day in England as they were in pre-Reformation times. The monks then (the Jesuits did not exist) took money out of the various parishes instead of putting money into them. The laity were expected to contribute to their support, and to ask for nothing in return.

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The result of this was that the monks were generally at war with the neighbouring Secular clergy, and with the laity. At St. Albans, where stood one of the largest and finest abbeys in England, some very serious and dangerous riots broke out more than once between the inmates of the monastery and the inhabitants of the town. Because some splendid monastic churches in pre-Reformation times belonged to the monks—churches which are still standing and are in use to-day [1]—ill-informed people imagine that the monks built them at their own expense for the benefit of the public, instead of which, of course, the exact reverse was generally the case.[2]

[1] Such as Westminster Abbey, Tewkesbury Abbey, Christchurch (Hants), Great Malvern Priory, St. Albans Cathedral, Gloucester Cathedral, Bath Abbey, Beverley Minster, Peterborough Cathedral, Romsey Abbey, and many others.

[2] Dr. Augustus Jessopp, in his *Before the Great Pillage*, makes some very true remarks upon the relations existing between Seculars and Regulars in pre-Reformation England, especially in regard to 'The stupid and ignorant assertion that the monks built our parish churches. . . . It would not be a whit more absurd and nonsensical to say that the wonderful amount of money spent upon the rebuilding and restoration of our parish churches during the last fifty years (1850–1900) had been contributed in the main by the Nonconformists, than to say that the monastic bodies built the parish churches in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is hardly too much to say that, from some points of view, the monastic bodies were themselves Nonconformists. . . . The parochial (Secular) clergy in England were always loyal Englishmen. The same at no time

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The chief cause of the financial difficulties, into the depths of which so many monastic Orders are constantly plunged, is, as I have said, due to their habit of starting small and unnecessary monasteries and houses, often in direct opposition to the local Secular clergy, and trusting to the laity to pay off their debts. There is, indeed, no necessity for any one Religious Order, no matter how big, opulent, important, to have more than two, or at the utmost three houses in England. For the smaller Orders, one English house for each Order should be quite sufficient. The way in which the Orders have multiplied, and are multiplying their English houses, is perfectly preposterous, and the establishments of one Order alone in this country must amount to nearly ninety. As the author of *Steps towards Reunion* reasonably observes, 'A large number of small and mean religious houses contributes nothing to the splendour of Religion. It is degrading to have them going bankrupt through excessive multiplication, when they might have done well by confining themselves to one or few establishments.'

There can be no doubt that the Regular clergy

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can be said of the monks, who from first to last were much less true subjects of the King, than at heart bigoted adherents of the Pope. . . . The monasteries robbed the parishes of their endowments.'

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are, on the whole, as at present represented in England, an ambitious body of men. They are not content, like their Secular brethren, to keep what they have got; they want to obtain more. Having achieved phenomenal success in England since 1850, they wish to recover, as much as possible, the position held by them prior to their Dissolution under King Henry VIII. They seem to forget that the world has changed since then, and that whilst they have stood still, education and civilization have progressed. They cannot understand that whilst they are still leading a fifteenth-century existence, their Secular colleagues and the laity are leading that of the twentieth century. Although they are no longer in occupation of their old houses, they often act as if they were; and whereas from the time of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, down to the date of writing, the Benedictines have not had a monastery at St. Albans, or at Glastonbury, they still possess an Abbot of Glastonbury, and an Abbot of St. Albans, whilst although they have ceased to conduct the services in Westminster Abbey ever since the accession of Queen Elizabeth, one of their number is still dubbed Abbot of Westminster![1] Again, they do not recognize that

[1] Cardinal Wiseman actually imagined that the Benedictines would have regained possession of Westminster Abbey by the beginning of the present century.

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many of their mediæval indulgences and devotions are totally out of place in the England of to-day. The Carmelites, for instance, still distribute to the elect their famous Brown Scapular, which, according to the very doubtful authority of Pope John XXII., was bestowed upon their Order by the Blessed Virgin herself, with the promise that she would descend into Purgatory and rescue the soul of any person wearing it at death on the Saturday following his or her decease,[1] conditional only on the wearer having led a moral life and having observed strictly the laws of fasting and abstinence. Another unnecessary indulgence is that of the 'Portiuncula,' administered by the Franciscan Order, whose peculiar devotion, however, of the Stations of the Cross has now been adopted by the other Orders and by the Secular clergy, to say nothing of its being observed in certain Ritualistic churches in the Church of England. The Franciscans, nevertheless, have not parted with their Cord of St. Francis, which 'six times a year secures to its wearer the restora-

[1] As has been pointed out by a Roman Catholic writer, this privilege is a decidedly unfair one in point of time, for it assumes that a person dying on Friday night gets rescued on the following day from the flames, whereas an individual dying on Sunday has to spend a whole week before being delivered. Another Carmelite Scapular, presented by the Virgin to St. Simon Stock, bestows on its wearer absolute immunity from Hell.

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tion of baptismal innocence'; and the Benedictines are very proud of their wonderful 'Medals of St. Benedict.'

Dr. Jessopp's just complaint that the 'Monks were much less true subjects of the King than at heart bigoted adherents of the Pope' is a statement which applies just as much to the Regulars of to-day as to their pre-Reformation predecessors in this country. The monk's king is the Pope, and the Pope alone; outside each Order, no constitutional authority is recognized save that of the Holy See. The Pope alone has the power of absolving a monk, or nun, of his or her Final Vows. Of every Religious Order the Pope is the direct and absolute head. Each Abbot or Prior yields as much power over his brethren as does a captain of a man-of-war over his crew; and Mitred Abbots[1] rank with Bishops. No wonder that the Secular clergy have for centuries past had to complain of the independence of the Regulars, who have failed frequently, all the world over, to submit to episcopal authority. As for the Jesuits, although like all the Religious Orders owning the Pope as their head, they have over and over again defied the authority of the Holy See. A monk or a nun, or a Jesuit, either in England or in any other country, has no nationality; he or

[1] In England, prior to the Dissolution, some Mitred Abbots had seats in the House of Peers.

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she is purely and simply a vassal, political as much as spiritual, of the Pope for the time being. Is it to be wondered, therefore, that the recent influx of the Religious Orders from abroad has created some little alarm amongst lovers of England and her liberties?

The old vexed question as to whether convents and monasteries in Great Britain ought to be opened to periodical inspection at the hands of visitors appointed by Government is not one, I think, which need be discussed here. That the time will come, however, and perhaps soon, when they will be thrown open, admits of little or no doubt. It is a pity that the Orders do not agree now at once to open their doors, instead of waiting until they are thrown open for them. The system of private burying-grounds within monastic and conventual walls is, for instance, one that needs supervision, and has been, and often is, attended with very terrible consequences. The remains of all monks and nuns should be interred in the public cemetery, in England, and everywhere else. Young men and women, too, should be prevented from taking Final Vows.

I have said above that 'young men and women should be prevented from taking Final Vows'; by this I mean that, in England, the law ought to intervene, and interdict young people from dedicating their whole lives to the solitude of the

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cloister, at an age when they are so ignorant of the world that they are incapable of comprehending the nature of the life which they are rejecting, or the nature of the life which they are agreeing to adopt. Their Final Vows once sworn, no one can absolve them from these Vows, or release them from their cells, except the Pope, and the Pope is very far away! The best means of checking any possible abuse arising from the obligation of such Vows would be to devise a means by which it should be made compulsory for all monks and nuns to renew their vows before a local magistrate every three years, the magistrate to possess the absolute veto as to permitting monks and nuns either to take vows or to renew them. In other words, monasteries and their inmates should be placed under a licensing system. A recruit cannot join the Army, even under our present system of short service, without first going before a magistrate, whose recognition of the step must be obtained; why then should young men and women be allowed to enter into a secret compact, by the terms of which they contract to shut themselves up in a spiritual prison for life, and hand over to the monastic authorities all the fortune of which they may be at the time possessed, the same arrangement to hold good in the event of their inheriting money at any future time? All over the Roman Catholic world, cases

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are constantly occurring of monks or nuns mistaking their vocation; that is to say, they find out all too late that they have dedicated themselves to a career for which experience (the only guide) gradually reveals to them they are absolutely unfit. Many a woman takes the veil, acting under a sudden impulse, owing to having been disappointed in a love affair, without having had any real inherent desire for a conventual life; and many a man has become a monk under similar circumstances. Cases also have, indeed, been known when young ladies have actually been forced by designing relatives to enter a convent, and their money has been shared between the authorities of the Order, to which the convent belongs, and the relatives. Again, I myself knew a case of an Englishman who entered a monastic Order, and, *before* the time came for him to take the Final Vows, made the Order a present of a sum amounting to over £20,000, only to find out a little later that he had mistaken his vocation. Light dawned upon him before taking the Final Vow, and he not only left the Order, but the Roman Catholic Church as well. He had also to leave his money!

The monastic revival in England has been an important factor in conducing to the triumph of Ultramontanism. Monks and nuns are not, and never have been, Gallicans. The more powerful the Pope, the better for them. Hence, defining

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the dogma of the Infallibility was of much help to them. It raised their master above the Sacred College, and above all General Councils, as it weakened in proportion the privileges of the Bishops. Since 1870, the monks claim as the head of each and every one of their Orders, separately and conjointly, an infallible being, whose prerogatives are best described by reference to the words of the Bull itself: '*Docemus et divinitus revelatum dogma esse definimus: Romanum pontificem, cum ex Cathedra loquitur, id est, cum omnium Christianorum Pastoris et Doctoris munere fungens, pro suprema sua apostolica auctoritate doctrinam de fide vel moribus ab universa Ecclesia tenendam definit, per assistentiam divinam, ipsi in beatro Petro permissam, ea Infallibilitate pollere, qua divinus Redemptor Ecclesiam suam in definienda doctrina de fide vel moribus instructam esse voluit; ideoque ejusmodi Romani Pontificis definitiones ex sese, non autem ex consensu Ecclesiæ irreformabiles esse.*' Nothing can be clearer than the meaning of these final words, which, translated into English, pronounce that the decisions of the Pope are of themselves irreformable, and are independent of the consent of the Church. In the face of this, however, it is interesting to note that, in an official text-book of wide circulation,[1] which is generally given to

[1] *Catholic Belief.* By the Very Rev. Joseph Faa di Bruno,

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every would-be convert in Great Britain to study before he or she can be received into the Roman Catholic Church, the author boldly defines the Infallibility as belonging not to the Pope alone, but to the Pope united to the Episcopate.[1] To quote the author in question: 'Catholics believe that in the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church there exists such an Infallible authority, and that it resides in the whole body of the Episcopate united with the Roman Pontiff. They also believe that this unfailing protection from teaching error is assured by God in a special manner to the Roman Pontiff himself when he speaks *ex cathedra*, as visible head of the Church and legitimate successor of St. Peter. That this Infallibility belongs to the whole body of bishops united to the Roman Pontiff is plain,' etc.

The writer is also curiously candid in regard to Pio Nono's previous innovation, the definition of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, when he confesses that 'It is true that before the solemn definition of this doctrine a diverse opinion was tolerated by the Church, and maintained by some Catholic theologians, who were not on that account accused of heresy, but such diversity of

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D.D., Rector-General of the Pious Society of the Missions. Twentieth edition, 1902. The book bears the imprimatur of Cardinal Manning.

[1] This seems to have been Dr. Lingard's view.

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opinion commonly precedes and leads up to an ecclesiastical definition.' It is a pity that Dr. Faa di Bruno does not name 'some' of these theologians, among whom were many Saints and Doctors of the Church. As the Bull defining the Immaculate Conception denounces all Catholics declining to believe in its terms as heretics, it therefore follows that such saints as Chrysostom, Epiphanius, Jerome, Augustine, Bernard, and Thomas Aquinas were all heretics. There is no question of time involved; just as the Bull defining Infallibility was made retrospective, so was that of the Immaculate Conception, and a man living a thousand years ago who repudiated either of these doctrines was just as much a heretic as a man who repudiates them to-day, and becomes excommunicated in consequence of his disbelief. Cardinal Newman's theory cannot be accepted, that 'There is no burden at all in holding that the Blessed Virgin was conceived without original sin; indeed, it is a simple fact to say that Catholics have not come to believe it because it is defined, but that it was defined because they believed it.' Such 'a simple fact' serves to illustrate the danger of relying upon Cardinal Newman's logic, especially when he goes on to say that 'It was in consequence of the unanimous petition, presented from all parts of the Church to the Holy See, in behalf of an

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ex cathedra declaration that the doctrine was Apostolic, that it was declared so to be. I have never heard of one Catholic having difficulties in receiving the doctrine, whose faith on other grounds was not already suspicious.' But Cardinal Newman must have known that the Dominican Order had for four centuries attacked the doctrine, and that the Dominicans stoutly opposed its definition in 1854. Finally, he says, in complete contradiction of his previous line of argument, that 'St. Bernard and St. Thomas scrupled at it in their day, yet had they lived into this, would have rejoiced to accept it for its own sake.' But, would they; and why should they? Not a scrap of original evidence in favour of the doctrine has been discovered since their deaths, and it is mere quibbling to pretend that had these saints lived in the nineteenth century they must have accepted it. Newman's whole statement of the case[1] for the dogma is a tissue of contradictions from first to last, as is his treatment of the 'Probabilism' of St. Alfonso Liguori, 'who was,' he maintains, 'a lover of truth, and whose

[1] As presented in his *Apologia pro Vita Sua*. On reading this work it is difficult, indeed, to imagine that its author, in earlier years, once wrote: 'We shall find too late that we are in the arms of a pitiless and unnatural relative (the Roman Catholic Church), who will but triumph in the arts which have inveigled us within her reach. . . . She is a Church beside herself: crafty, obstinate, wilful, malicious cruel,' etc.

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intercession I trust I shall not lose, though on the matter under consideration, I follow other guidance in preference to his.' And yet, of this 'lover of truth' Newman had only just written: 'St. Alfonso Liguori, then, it cannot be denied, lays down that an equivocation (that is, a play upon words, in which one sense is taken by the speaker, and another sense intended by him for the hearer) is allowable, if there is a just cause, that is, in an extraordinary case, and may even be confirmed by an oath.' But, in speaking thus, he piously hopes that he is not 'saying anything disrespectful to St. Alfonso'!

Of late years, many ingenious attempts have been made by monkish writers, in order to strengthen the present position of the Regulars in England, to cast a new and more pleasant light upon the general state of the monastic houses before, and at the time of their Dissolution under Henry VIII. But these writers cannot be credited with having brought their laborious tasks to successful conclusions. They have totally failed to explain, if the mediæval monasteries were all such perfectly-managed institutions, why the vast majority of the population in England at the period of their Dissolution calmly looked on unmoved, without stirring a finger to save the religious from their fate?[1] The truth is, of course,

[1] In the north-west, it is true that the so-called 'Pilgrimage

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that both the Secular clergy and the laity had long lost sympathy with the monks. They were willing to retain a small number of the larger and better-conducted houses,[1] but they were quite agreed, with Cardinal Wolsey, that the definite time had come to check decisively the nefarious growth of the monastic system. King Henry VIII., and his advisers, eventually refused to discriminate between any of the houses, or between any of the Orders, and all were dissolved and swept away in one common ruin. The monks had only themselves to blame for their misfortunes, and, as Froude says, 'For years past the abbeys had gone their own way, careless of the gathering indignation with which they were regarded by the people, and believing that in their position they held a secret shield which would protect them for ever.' In the theory propounded by Roman Catholic writers that the monasteries were dissolved, not because of the laxity of their inmates, but because the King and his courtiers coveted their wealth, is not tenable when we read the evidence accumulated against the behaviour

of Grace' was directed with the object of restoring the monks. But the restoration of the monks was only one of the aims of the insurgents, who took the field in defence of the Roman Catholic religion generally, and not solely on behalf of the Regulars.

[1] Even Bishop Latimer interceded for the picturesque priory of Great Malvern, Worcestershire.

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of the Regulars by their own contemporaries and co-religionists. An attempt to reform the monasteries had not only been made by Cardinal Wolsey, but even so far back as in the reign of Henry VII. by Cardinal Morton, who was carrying out the special instructions of Innocent VIII., that Pontiff being justly indignant at the terrible state of many of the bigger houses.[1] But neither Morton nor Wolsey was strong enough to carry out so prodigious a work, and they had to relinquish it, to be completed by Thomas Cromwell and Henry VIII.

[1] Amongst which the great Abbey of St. Albans, and some houses dependent on it, were found to be existing in a most scandalous condition, yet the Abbot sat in the House of Lords as a Spiritual Peer.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE PHANTOM OF REUNION

ONE of the primal developments of the Oxford Movement was the tendency evinced by several of its most ardent and advanced supporters to enter into some sort of a scheme for reconciliation with Rome. They professed themselves eager to see the Church of the Establishment united in some degree with that of Rome. In this expression, they asserted that they were only following in the footsteps of Archbishop Laud and his school, who had endeavoured secretly to come to some terms of agreement with the Holy See. Since the full development of the Oxford Movement, a great many illusive schemes have been entered into by a section of the Ritualistic party in the Church of England, acting in unison with a small section of the English Roman Catholics, to devise means for reuniting the two Churches; but without avail. As time goes on all idea of reconciliation between Canterbury and Rome becomes more and more hopeless of effective realization. It is still slightly possible, of course,

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that a large portion of the High Anglican party might again go over in a body to Rome, as in the period covered by the years 1844 to 1855, for example. But this would not mean Reunion with Rome; it would simply imply that the Church of England was freed, at last, from the grave burden of a large number of restless persons, whose presence in the Anglican ranks is somewhat of an anomaly, professing as they do allegiance to one Church, whilst apparently pretending the doctrines of another and rival Church.

During the nineteenth century, the most ardent advocate on the Roman Catholic side working on behalf of Reunion was Mr. Ambrose March Phillips de Lisle, a layman, who was once described by Mr. Gladstone as 'An Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile.' Mr. Phillips de Lisle[1] was a convert to Romanism, having seceded from the Church of England when quite a young man.[2] Possessed of considerable landed property in Leicestershire and Northamptonshire, it was owing to his munificence, acting in junction with the 'good' Earl of Shrewsbury, that the

[1] His father's name was Phillips, but on the assumption of a maternal descent from a branch of the Norman family of L'Isle, he adopted the additional surname of De Lisle.

[2] Phillips de Lisle, however, was merely carrying on, though on a larger scale, Father Ignatius Spencer's campaign in favour of Reunion. Spencer, indeed, was first in the field, without doubt.

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Cistercians (Trappists) were enabled to establish their splendid Abbey in Charnwood Forest; whilst, in his own private chapel, he erected the first altar ever dedicated in England to Saint Joseph, for the latter-day introduction of whose cultus into this country he must, I presume, be held partly responsible. But his efforts on behalf of the Cistercians were doomed to disappointment, inasmuch as he could get them to undertake no parochial work of any kind. He found that he had merely provided funds towards the maintenance of a religious community, which was of no help whatever locally to the Roman Catholic cause. His exasperating experience in regard to his dealings with these monks, for whom he had sacrificed so much, was precisely similar to that of Cardinal Wiseman, already referred to above, in connection with the Regulars in London. The attitude of the Regulars was entirely selfish, for so soon as they were comfortably housed, they paid no attention to the spiritual wants of their co-religionists living just outside the monastic gates. From the Passionists, Phillips de Lisle and Lord Shrewsbury also met with ingratitude, although Lord Shrewsbury[1] was

[1] The last Roman Catholic Earl of Shrewsbury. Dying without a son to succeed him, he was succeeded by his kinsman, Lord Talbot. He was a very good and generous man, and spent large sums of money on behalf of his Faith. He was an undoubted Gallican, and even Mr. Phillips de Lisle was opposed to the definition of the doctrine of the Infallibility.

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by this time sufficiently fortified by experience to be altogether deceived. The Passionists, under Father Dominic Barberi, had come over to England without funds, without any knowledge of English customs, English habits, or of the English tongue, and yet expected the native Roman Catholic laity to keep them. They managed, at last, to obtain the loan of an empty house, and when asked what they meant to do next, plaintively replied that Providence would provide for them.

All Mr. Phillips de Lisle's exertions in the cause of Reunion met with signal failure in the end. He inaugurated a wealthy Society, composed of Romanists and Ritualists, who were pledged to agitate in favour of an understanding between England and the Holy See. On the Anglican side, Dr. Frederick George Lee was Phillips de Lisle's principal confederate, and the two together strove their utmost to propagate crypto-Roman doctrines and practices among the Protestant clergy. Mr. Phillips de Lisle endeavoured to obtain for this Society the support and approval of Cardinal Barnabò, and wrote to Rome a most glowing and enthusiastic description of his proceedings. The Cardinal, who was quite mystified by Phillips de Lisle's account of the work and aims of the Society, returned him a courteous reply, and received from the Society the compli-

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mentary present of a valuable gilt chalice. But, meanwhile, Cardinal Manning's close attention had been drawn to the scheme, and he soon found how utterly illusive it all was, for Phillips de Lisle was making promises which he could not possibly redeem, and statements, about the support he was receiving from the Anglican Episcopate, which could not possibly be correct. At the same time Phillips de Lisle was acting in entire good faith. He was simply a visionary, who was so sanguine of ultimate success that he could not see how completely he was being misled, and was, in consequence, himself misleading others. Cardinal Manning reported the true state of the case to Rome, with the result that the plans of Phillips de Lisle and his friends were officially condemned, and all Roman Catholics were directed to withdraw from membership in the Society, much to the heart-felt indignation and dejection of its promoter.

Since the death of Mr. Phillips de Lisle, some members of the Ritualistic party have been more energetic than Romanists in agitating for Reunion, but no intelligible information of any kind whatever as to how this Reunion is to be effected has yet been made public; and it is a somewhat significant fact that those, on the High Anglican side, who have been heard clamouring the loudest for Reunion with Rome have taken good care not to

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become Roman Catholics.[1] The Papal Bull condemning Anglican Orders, too, has widened the breach, and it is difficult to comprehend how Anglicans can logically be expected to unite with a Church whose Infallible head has pronounced their priestly Orders to be utterly null and void. So far as can be discerned out of so much uncertainty, the whole movement, as yet projected, seems to savour of surrender rather than Reunion, for England is to give way blindly, and do as Rome requires, without receiving any concession in return.

In the conduct of this agitation for Reunion, the old plea for the Reunion of Christendom has long been abandoned by the Reunionists. They have no desire to unite all the Christian Churches by some common friendly tie. All they wish, is to render the Church of England, or a great portion of the Church of England, subservient to the Bishop of Rome. To attain this end, they are still working, as did Phillips de Lisle and his allies, to spread Roman Catholic doctrines and practices as widely as possible among the laity and clergy of the Establishment. A little leaven, they hope, will leaven the whole lump. In order to Italianate the Church of England, they

[1] Dr. F. G. Lee, it is true, died a Roman Catholic, but he was not received into the Roman Church until he was almost *in extremis*.

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introduce wherever they can the most modern Roman devotions and doctrines into the bosom of the Establishment. The old position of the historic High Church party has long been abandoned. The modern Ritualist laughs at the old school of High Anglicans. He makes no appeal to the verdict of history, but is quite content to adopt the newest fashions in religion, so long as they are imported direct from Italy. No doctrine, promulgated by the Ultramontanes of the nineteenth century, which has shocked the Liberal Catholic, or the Gallican, comes amiss to some of these extremists. The cultus of St. Joseph, the constant use of the Rosary, the exposition of the Eucharist, the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, the doctrine of the Assumption of the Virgin,[1] the extreme Roman view concerning Purgatory, the Infallibility of the Pope, all find favour and approval among the Ritualistic school which is agitating for Reunion with Rome.

A good deal of literature, in the shape of magazine articles and treatises, has of late years been published by the Reunionists in defence of

[1] The doctrine of the Corporeal Assumption of the Virgin Mary into Heaven is not yet an Article of Faith, which Roman Catholics are bound to believe, though it will probably become one in time. Roman Catholics are, however, bound to go to Mass on the feast of the Assumption. The doctrine was, of course, absolutely unknown to the early Church. It seems to have been invented by a Greek monk.

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their plan of campaign, nine-tenths of which has come from the Ritualistic, and not the Roman camp. The only work of any distinct logical merit that has yet appeared on the subject of Reunion is, nevertheless, by the pen of a Roman Catholic Priest, namely, *Steps towards Reunion*, by the Rev. Father James Duggan. I have referred to this book, more than once, above. It must, at the same time, be admitted that the title of the book is somewhat of a misnomer; for a perusal of its contents fails to furnish the reader with any very valuable information as to how Reunion is to be brought about, or to show indeed that any urgent necessity, at present, exists for Reunion at all. In fact, this most impartial and scholarly essay tends to reveal how very difficult and uncompromising are the impediments which block the path of the Reunionists, and what little chance or opportunity exists of Ultramontane Rome being able to remove those impediments by making any specially substantial concession to the High Anglican party in favour of Reunion.

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CHAPTER XVII

PRIESTS AND PEOPLE IN ENGLAND

THE times have changed, indeed, for the English Roman Catholics during the course of the last hundred years. What a contrast is there between the dawn of the nineteenth century and that of the twentieth! In the year 1800, the English Romanists were only just beginning to attend Mass openly, and to hear it said in a proper chapel, and not behind the locked doors of some melancholy garret, hidden away at the top of a by-street in Holborn or Soho, or in some carefully-guarded chamber of a country-house. In the year 1800, the English Romanists were not yet emancipated; entry into Parliament and the learned professions was still forbidden them. There was no Cardinal resident in Great Britain (or in Ireland). There was not, in 1800, a single monastic house established in Great Britain. There was, it is true, a house inhabited by ex-Jesuits in Lancashire, there were three or four convents of women, and some French refugee

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monks had obtained shelter at a gentleman's private house in Dorsetshire; but there was not in existence one recognized priory, or abbey. Even in the very doctrines of the Church itself there was a difference noticeable between then and now; in 1800, no Roman Catholic was expected to believe either in an Immaculate Virgin, or in an Infallible Pope. There was a difference also in the services of the Church; in 1800, but few images were to be seen in an English Roman Catholic chapel, the repetition in public of the litany of Loretto was unknown, the public use of the Rosary was very infrequent, the service of Benediction was seldom celebrated, 'Quarant'ore' had not yet been introduced from abroad, and operatic Masses were very rarely, if ever sung. A Secular priest, in 1800, was content with the plain prefix of 'Mr.' to his name, and was never called 'Father.' The Bible was read among all classes of Roman Catholics far more than it is now. In 1800, there was not a Roman Catholic Cathedral in England, and there was no Archbishop of Westminster.

Things are changed, indeed, since the year 1800, but are they changed for the better, on the whole—that is the question? Inasmuch as the English Romanists have obtained political and social freedom, and can rise to hold almost any

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great office under the Crown,[1] they certainly are, but in many other respects they are not. The English Romanists, whilst gaining in external progress and freedom, have not gained internally. They are now, far more than in 1800, directly subject to the Holy See. Ultramontane principles have destroyed the old patriotic spirit of Gallicanism. Moreover, although they obtained Emancipation in 1829, it was not until over sixty years later that Roman Catholic laymen were formally permitted by the ecclesiastical authorities of their Church to go up to our great Universities, and it is only of recent years that the middle and lower class Catholics have succeeded in obtaining a good system of education. Ever since 1850, the year of the restoration of the Hierarchy, slowly but surely has the Holy See proceeded to Italianate, in every way possible, the Roman Catholic Church in our land. The influx of Italian Religious Orders, like the Oratorians, Passionists, Servites, Oblates, and Redemptorists, the introduction of modern Italian devotions, the adoption of Roman vestments, the pronunciation of ecclesiastical Latin according to the Roman form, the residence of a Cardinal at Westminster, the progress and prosperity of the Society of Jesus, and 'sung Masses of the Virgin Mary,' have all

[1] The exceptions are those of Lord Chancellor, Viceroy of Ireland, and Regent of the Kingdom.

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tended to transform the old Roman Catholic Church in this country into a modern 'Italian Mission.'

This change for the worse dates, I think, from Monsignor Manning's elevation to the Archbishopric of Westminster. Cardinal Manning's primacy, extending as it did over a space of a quarter of a century, was a period of decadence. It is true that Cardinal Wiseman, his predecessor, had made many mistakes; but several of these were committed when Wiseman was very ill, and when Monsignor Manning was shaping his policy for him. Wiseman, for instance, was not adverse to his co-religionists going to Oxford and Cambridge, but Manning was, and he prevented Wiseman from sanctioning their going. As soon as Manning became Archbishop, his policy soon tended to nullify all the rapid progress made by Rome in England since the era of Emancipation. Roman Catholics were prevented from going to the Universities, Newman and his friends were denounced and watched, the freedom of the Roman Catholic press was abolished, the laity were not allowed to have a voice in any ecclesiastical matter of importance, the vestments of the clergy had to be cut strictly according to the Roman fashion, and the Secular priest was told to dub himself 'Father.' Cardinal Manning's reign at Westminster was ruinous to the best interests of his Church in England. It was he, and not

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Cardinal Vaughan, who was mainly instrumental in putting it back sixty years and more. Under Cardinal Manning's influence, his Church became utterly Italianated, and it seemed, at last, as if he had determined to destroy all liberty of thought among both clergy and laity, and to place them directly and absolutely under the yoke of the Papal Curia. 'We are Catholics first, and Englishmen afterwards,'[1] was the motto of his rule.

With the cleverest men amongst his co-religionists Manning was in constant collision. He seemed to be jealous and suspicious of every intellectual Roman Catholic.[2] Archbishop Errington he had ruined already, before he became Primate; Lord Acton he disliked and attacked; John Henry Newman he persecuted; Richard Simpson he condemned as unorthodox; Professor Mivart he treated as a heretic; the position of the old Catholic families he set himself to lower. His own isolated camp was composed of non-intellectuals, who were all rabid Ultramontanes, such as W. G. Ward, Herbert Vaughan, Monsignor Capel, Monsignor George Talbot, and

[1] This was a saying of the convert Earl of Denbigh. It gave rise to great popular indignation on the original occasion of its utterance.

[2] 'He hated all whom he suspected of being able to take his measure. He put back Catholicism in England a hundred years' (Coventry Patmore).

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disciples of the perfervid school of Father Faber. What a sharp contrast between such names as these and those of the able writers and thinkers who were to the fore in the dark days just preceding the dawn of Emancipation, such as Berington, Throckmorton, Lingard, Tierney, Rock, Oliver, Husenbeth, Milner, Archer, Charles Butler, Waterton, and Poynter! Even Cardinal Manning's strongest point—his later hostility to the Jesuits—led him, once at least, into dire disaster. As an alternative to letting the sons of upper-class Roman Catholics go to Beaumont and Stonyhurst to be educated, he set up Monsignor Capel at Kensington, and with what result we need not here discuss. After Cardinal Manning's death, the English Jesuits quickly made up for lost time, and won the complete confidence of his successor, Herbert Vaughan.

It has been contended, by one who knew Manning well, that towards the end of his career the Cardinal was haunted by the growing conviction that his Ultramontane policy as Archbishop of Westminster had been a failure, on the whole. Nay, more, our authority declares that Manning eventually regretted the part he had played at the Vatican Council, whose Definition of the Infallibility he recognized, at last, to have been a profound mistake. Whether this view of Manning's change of opinion be a correct one or

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not, some colour is certainly given to it by the Cardinal's later hostility to his staunch allies of 1870, the Jesuits. Again, the Radical leanings of his last years formed a marked contrast to the narrow, rigid attitude assumed by him until, roughly speaking, soon after the accession of Pope Leo XIII., and the Cardinal Manning who intervened on behalf of the Dockers, who sympathized with Mr. Stead, who approved of the Salvation Army, who advocated warmly Home Rule for Ireland, who carried on his teetotal propaganda to extreme limits, who opposed vivisection, who strongly admired Lord Shaftesbury and his works, who gave away copies of the Gospels to his friends, who refused to allow the Society of Jesus to open a school in or near London, was surely a very different person from the Cardinal Manning who had formerly fought tooth and nail against the propagation of Liberal ideas in any shape or form among his co-religionists.[1]

But whether Cardinal Manning in his old age regretted his former rigidity or not, it is indisputable that, before he died, he must have perceived how his policy had been productive of many errors. The elevation of Newman, for instance,

[1] Towards the last, Manning wished only to be regarded as as priest: 'I am not,' he once declared, 'a poet, a novelist, or a writer of an Autobiography, like Newman; but a priest, and only a priest.'

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to the Cardinalate, afforded the strongest of strong proofs that the new Pope disapproved of his treatment of the illustrious Oratorian, as did a very large number of the English Romanists, both laity and clergy. The very great falling-off in the number of secessions from the Anglican Church to that of Rome during the last eighteen years of his Primacy must have revealed to him that Romanism was making no progress in England, and that its decadence was due to the Definition of the Infallibility of the Pope. At Rome itself, he lost most of his influence on the death of Pio Nono, and had it not been that he and Leo XIII. eventually became agreed upon the Labour Question, he would have found himself, during his periodical visits to the Eternal City, received at the Vatican with marked coldness. As it was, he bitterly complained of the way in which he was treated at the Vatican after the death of his patron, Pio Nono.

It is a curious and significant fact that nearly all the most famous ecclesiastics who have striven to render Ultramontane principles paramount in England, lived long enough either to find their schemes foiled in the end, or to realize before they died that their policy would not long survive them. Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, was hacked to death within the precincts of his own Cathedral. Cardinal Wolsey for years was so

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rich and powerful that his authority rivalled that of the King himself, and that King was Henry VIII., yet he died a poor man and a prisoner, on the way to take his trial in London. Cardinal Pole, who was received on his coming to London as Papal Legate, by the greatest officers of State upon their knees asking for his blessing, died under sentence of recall from Rome as one who was suspected of heresy; and within a few hours of his death the religious system which he had re-established in this country was swept away. Bishop Milner lived to have his articles in the Roman Catholic press condemned by the Holy See, which severely censured him for his 'zeal.' Cardinal Wiseman, after a prolonged and desperate quarrel with his Coadjutor, died a lonely and disappointed man, at enmity with his Bishops, with his Chapter, with his clergy, and with members of his own household. Monsignor George Talbot, who considered that the laity must never be allowed to think for themselves, but only amuse themselves, or attend to their daily tasks, without having any voice in matters ecclesiastical, died abroad, an inmate of an asylum for the insane. Cardinal Vaughan, during the last three or four years of his life, became very unpopular with nine-tenths of the Secular clergy of the arch-diocese, and was openly subjected again and again to their most candid

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criticisms of his proceedings, and to their constant revolts against his authority, whilst they dubbed the new Cathedral—the erection of which was productive of so much controversy and discord—by no more complimentary a title than 'Vaughan's Folly.'

Although the relations existing at present between Priests and People in England are of a more cordial and sympathetic character than those maintained between the clergy and laity in Ireland,[1] where the Roman Catholicism is of a lower type altogether, there are still many grievances in England, which all liberty-loving members of the laity would like to see redressed. One of the chief grievances is concerned with the financial administration of the dioceses by the Bishops. In England, a Roman Catholic Bishop has far more power over his flock than an Anglican Bishop has, it is only the Religious Orders which are somewhat difficult to manage. Over the diocesan funds the Bishops maintain complete control. The financial management of the Missions is entirely in their hands. The parish priest is powerless. He can, if he likes, in the

[1] Mr. Bart Kennedy (a Roman Catholic), writing in the *Daily Mail*, May 16, 1905, declared: 'It is not too much to say that the people here are in positive terror of the priests. They can neither call their lives nor their minds their own. When they speak of the priests they speak in whispers. . . . The priests rule everything, and interfere in everything.'

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event of a dispute, appeal to Rome, but should he do so, he will not only in all probability lose his case, but all chance of promotion as well.

In the year 1903, the following paragraph appeared in a London daily newspaper: 'A remarkable petition has been recently drawn up for presentation to Parliament. The petitioners are members of the Roman Catholic laity; and they appeal to Parliament to set up some control over Roman Catholic moneys and endowments. It is asserted that the sum total of the capital invested in the Roman Catholic hierarchy of Great Britain amounts to close on fifty millions sterling, and the appellants complain that no account is ever rendered by the Bishops of the management or disbursements of the funds in their possession.'

This agitation, however, came to nothing. The courage of the petitioners oozed out through their fingers, long before Parliament met. The ecclesiastical authorities easily frightened the ringleaders of the movement; nothing was done, and things have got worse than before, although the publication of this, and other similar paragraphs in the London press since then, undoubtedly served to call attention to the powerlessness of the Roman Catholic laity to obtain certain long-needed reforms.

The Roman Catholic clergy in England contend that as their Church here is not endowed, like

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that of the Establishment, they are of necessity driven to be constantly 'sending round the hat.' For the constant appeals of the Seculars to the laity for funds good grounds as a rule exist, but it is very difficult to condone the manner in which the Regulars are allowed to bleed the laity. Why should an English layman, rich or poor, be called upon to subscribe to the private funds of a foreign Religious Order, with which he has no connection, and from which he may receive nothing in return? Why should the laity be called upon to contribute to the maintenance of the Jesuits, for instance? Many of the Regulars come, and have come over to England from abroad, practically penniless, and insist and have insisted on the English laity keeping them.

But, even the Secular clergy often err on the side of imprudence in begging for assistance. At High Mass on Sundays, nearly every seat in an English church is paid for. If the worshipper does not rent a chair or pew, then he must pay a shilling, or at the least sixpence, if he wants to occupy a good seat. But, on the top of this he must also subscribe to the collection, so that he is obliged to pay twice over, and in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred he does not know to what particular fund either of his donations will go. Then again, the fee for having a Mass said—five shillings—is an imposition, but a very profitable one.

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Another circumstance that does not tend to make for intimate union between Priests and People in England is the extraordinary degree of deference which the laity have to show to the higher clergy. When a Roman Catholic layman meets not only a Cardinal, or Archbishop, but even a Bishop, or Mitred Abbot, he (or she) is expected to go down on his (or her) knees, and kiss the ecclesiastic's ring. Again, when a priest of episcopal rank celebrates Holy Communion, the laity approaching the altar are bound to kiss the episcopal ring before partaking of the consecrated wafer. This is, indeed, putting the Priest before the Sacrament with a vengeance, and it would be interesting to know what possible authority can exist, either in the Scriptures, in Tradition, or in the Fathers, for countenancing the practice of so odious a custom! Of late years in England, moreover, certain members of the Roman Catholic hierarchy have tried to get others than Roman Catholics, with whom they may come into private contact, to kneel down and kiss their rings; and I remember personally the case of a certain Prelate, who was quite rude to a Protestant lady, lunching with him, because she declined to genuflect and kiss his ring before taking her seat at the table. This peculiar practice of kissing the ring is, of course, merely a Papal attempt to get all and sundry to acknow-

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ledge the supremacy of the Sovereign Pontiff; since the signet-ring worn by every priest of episcopal rank is an emblem of the power of the Holy See, and in kissing it the layman, Protestant or Romanist, is indirectly saluting thereby the person of the Bishop of Rome himself. To insist on a non-Romanist kissing his ring is, therefore, an act of unwarrantable presumption on the part of a Roman Catholic Bishop, Cardinal, or Abbot.

A priest employed upon the English Mission, unless he be a member of a contemplative Religious Order, leads, or ought to lead, a very hard-working life, and to the credit of the Secular clergy in general it must be admitted that most of its representatives are not in any way prone to shirk the trials and responsibilities of their position. Probably, in no other country, all things considered, are Priests and People on better terms with one another than in England, although the malign influence exercised by certain of the Regulars seems likely to affect seriously this *entente cordiale* before long. Financial considerations, too, as we have seen, form somewhat of a stumbling-block. But the future may show us that the greatest danger threatening the continuance of the existing state of affairs is connected with the attitude of the Church of Rome towards its women; for it is clear that, as time goes on, even Roman Catholic ladies will venture to appeal

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for recognition in the emancipation of their sex from the survival of the mediæval system of incarcerating women, young and old, within the silent seclusion of conventual walls.

Women in the Roman Church are about the only ones still left in England who have not shared with their sisters of all other religious denominations in advancing with the times. Our English women, now, after having received a good education, go forth into the world and fight the battle of life manfully. Yet in the Church of Rome things are different; the percentage, for instance, of hospital nurses who are Roman Catholic is a small one. Every devout woman holding the Roman Catholic faith can do nothing of importance without first seeking the opinion of her 'Director.' The result of this is, that she becomes utterly unable to strike out for herself, or to make a living for herself, and if her parents are dead, and she has no longer a home of her own to go to, an unmarried lady generally ends by committing spiritual suicide, that is—entering a convent. The number of ladies living secluded in English convents, who might have passed prosperous and useful careers, or made good wives and mothers, had they been advised, or allowed to fight for themselves in the battle of life, and not to enter a Religious Order, is enormous. Of the ladies living in English convents, it is not too

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much to say that quite sixty per cent. of their number ought to have continued to remain in the world, which they should never have renounced.

The system of educating young girls in convents is at the bottom of more than half the troubles caused by the 'sex question' in the Roman Catholic Church. It would be much better if girls were sent to ordinary secular boarding-schools, or educated at home, instead of their being sent to nunneries to be boarded and taught. They are, as it were, in the beginning educated up to the conventual system, and if they fail to marry when they quit the convent, after completing their scholastic course, they are induced to imagine that their only chance of leading a good life is to return to it and become nuns. Girls are kept too long in convents before coming out into the world. Hence, the very large number of unhappy marriages, which are alike the scandal and the curse of Roman Catholic countries. A young girl, brought up in a convent, emerges suddenly into the world, of which she knows nothing; and is then very frequently expected to marry a man, of whom she knows nothing, whom her parents or guardians have already picked out for her, without her wishes being in any way consulted. This convent system prevents Roman Catholic girls from mixing with those of other creeds, and they consequently hold no chance whatever of broaden-

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ing their minds. They leave their convents totally unequipped for the fray, for they have remained children instead of growing up, and their sole resource, in all doubts and difficulties, is to pray for guidance, or for help, to Mary, the Holy Mother of God.

No young lady ought to be allowed to become a nun. Convents should only be used as a refuge and a hospice for those women—whether unmarried or widows—who have first essayed an ordinary life, and have achieved sufficient experience to enable them to know their own minds. With all its asceticism, all its glories, all its fasts, and all its prayers, the life of a nun is a very selfish one. A woman, who enters an Order, deliberately runs away from the temptations, trials, and burdens of life; adopting a system of living whereby she is not exposed to ordinary dangers of temptation or trouble, and incurs no chance of becoming hopelessly poor, or of starving; for all her clothes, medicines, and meals are regularly found for her. She merely leads a very quiet existence, freed from all the ordinary temptations of the world, the flesh, and the devil, but placed in a position in which she is not free to do good to others. She becomes, at last, a mere spiritual machine. Her very will is dependent upon the caprices of the Mother Superior, or Chaplain of the convent. Even her thoughts are

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not her own, for she has frequently to satisfy her 'Director' as to their nature in the confessional-box. To her the convent becomes at length her all in all. She does everything by rule. She moves to and fro like a puppet, with her superiors pulling the string. She makes no real advance in her spiritual life, for she can only pray as she is advised to pray, and she can only plod along in the same old groove, trying to work out her own salvation; she cannot help to save the souls of others. In a monastery, things are but a shade the better, and we are reminded of the curious legend of the lay-brother, who, stultified by the tedious monotony of his rule, left the very presence of the Beatific Vision, illuminating his little cell, in order to take his place amongst his brethren in the choir.

Our hearts ache, when we reflect on the sorrowful lives led by so many noble and pious women, old and young, within the seclusion of the cloister; mine does, especially when I pause to think of one so good, so brave, so gracious, and so true, who suddenly quitted all to whom she was so dear, to immure herself inside a nunnery. One who always looked forward with such confidence towards the future; who never thought of herself when others were in question; who was always so modest, so unselfish, so unassuming, so self-sacrificing, so forgiving, so consoling; who was

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never hard, or cold, or proud, but ever kind and tender, trusting and trustworthy. Yet, this girl in the first flush of happiness, was induced to listen to the persuasions of a monk, who represented that it was her duty to wed a heavenly spouse, to tear herself away from all who were so devoted to her, and bury herself within the gloom and squalor of a convent cell.

But her case, which I dwell on here, was only one in ten thousand. How many other human hearts have been broken, and are breaking day by day under similar conditions. The convent system is the ruin of home life and home's affections. It separates lover from lover, parent from child, brother from sister, and friend from friend; it breaks hearts, but it never mends them; it pulls the mighty down, but it never lifts the humble up.

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE OUTLOOK

LORD MACAULAY held so highly favourable an estimate of the future progress and prosperity of the Church of Rome that he prophesied the Papacy 'may still exist in undiminished vigour, when a traveller from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his seat on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's.' But, Macaulay really knew very little about Roman Catholicism, as is evident from his grotesquely inaccurate description of the death-bed reception of Charles II., and his extraordinary notion that in burning heretics Mary Tudor thought she was saving their souls hereafter. Of the Society of Jesus his account is most inaccurate, and this ignorance is conspicuously manifest in his treatment of Father Petre's position at the Court of our King James II. The signs of the times, indeed, point to retrogression of the Papal power all over the world. Since Macaulay wrote his essay,[1] Rome has gained

[1] On Ranke's *History of the Popes.*

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nothing, has lost Italy, Mexico, and France, and has begun to lose her hold over South America, Spain, Hungary, and Portugal. The Holy See is beginning, at last, to reap what it has sown. After having for so long prevented the education of the lower classes, free education is opening the eyes of the blind Ultramontane. Rome is threatened, it must be remembered, with assaults both from without and within. She is not only being attacked by the Protestant and Freethinker from without, but she is being seriously assailed by the Liberal Roman Catholic from within.

Rome in England subsists in by no means a sound internal condition. The building of a large Cathedral, the activity of the Jesuits, the immigration of alien monks and nuns, and the residence of a Cardinal-Archbishop in London, do not certify that the Church is making prodigious progress. As a matter of fact, the Westminster Cathedral is a 'white elephant,' the Jesuits are very unpopular, and a Cardinal resident in London is a mere figure-head. Despite the enormous increase in its forces, Romanism in England is making little or no progress. At the same time, the settlement amongst us of a great army of monks and nuns may exercise important influences on the future. Moreover, in spite of many defects, the Roman Catholic Church

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possesses many advantages. In the first place, the Roman Catholic fold is conspicuous for its unity; it is not split up into a variety of hostile organizations as Protestantism is. The ritual, too, is everywhere the same in the Church of Rome. In questions of discipline, the Roman Catholic system is better than the Anglican. An immoral or otherwise unworthy priest can be deprived of his faculties, and inhibited from saying Mass or administering the Sacraments, at practically a moment's notice. In the Anglican Church months have to be wasted in bringing the culprit before a court of law before he can be effectually dealt with. In organization, the Church of Rome is still unrivalled. 'It is impossible to deny,' as Macaulay remarks, 'that the polity of the Church of Rome is the very masterpiece of human wisdom. In truth, nothing but such a polity could, against such assaults, have borne up against such doctrines. The experience of twelve hundred eventful years, the ingenuity and patient care of forty generations of statesmen, have improved that polity in such perfection, that among the contrivances which have been devised for deceiving and controlling mankind, it occupies the highest place. The stronger our conviction that reason and Scripture were decidedly on the side of Protestantism, the greater is the reluctant admiration with which we regard the system of

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tactics against which reason and Scripture were arrayed in vain.'

One minor cause of such progress as Rome has made in our country since the restoration of the Hierarchy, in 1850, under Cardinal Wiseman, has been the extraordinary skill which English Romanists have employed to advertise their Church and the doings of its leading members. This advertising system has made the non-Roman population, always suspicious of Popery, imagine that Rome in England is a great deal more powerful than she actually is, or ever has been since 1850. The Roman Catholic press knows how to blow its own trumpet. If a distinguished convert be received into the Church, every possible publicity is at once given in print to the fact; but if a distinguished person secede from the Roman Church, then the news is discreetly ignored. If a priest brings out a scientific or historical work, the same blowing of trumpets and beating of drums takes place as in the case of a notable conversion, and the book is favourably reviewed in the Roman Catholic papers before the reviewers have even had time to read it. If a Roman Catholic nobleman or gentleman takes part in any important public function, or accepts any small political post, the occurrence is made as much of as if he had been offered a seat in the Cabinet. If a personage of distinction who is not a Romanist

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casually visits the Brompton Oratory, or Farm Street, on a Sunday afternoon, it is immediately hinted that he will very shortly be received into the Church. If a member of the Royal Family happens to say a few words to a Roman Catholic prelate, or Jesuit priest, it is mysteriously whispered 'on the highest authority' that he is at heart a Roman Catholic, and is only prevented by reasons of State from not declaring himself or herself one. This advertising system has undoubtedly been of great aid to the Roman cause, for it has thrown a false, and much too brilliant a light upon the whole position of the Church in England. The system in question is not the work of persons deliberately attempting to deceive. It results rather from the far too sanguine enthusiasm of the leading Romanists themselves, who are utterly unable to recognize the fact that their Church in our land only occupies the position of any other Nonconformist Church, and that not only does it rank a long way below the Establishment in importance, but also below such communities as those of the Baptists, Methodists, and Congregationalists.

In the above pages I have roughly traced in outline the chief details of the history of the Roman Catholic Church in England during the nineteenth century. I have shown how Rome has risen from the obscure position of a de-

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nounced and despised sect to that of an opulent, powerful, and strongly-organized Communion; how her monks and nuns, after three centuries of exile, have again returned to resume the occupation of their cells in every quarter of Great Britain; how the Society of Jesus, though still prescribed as illegal by the law of our land, has also returned to set up numerous schools and churches; how Roman Catholic Halls have been established at Oxford and at Cambridge; how the title of Cardinal has once more been bestowed upon Englishmen living on this side of the Channel; how the sentence of excommunication has again been passed by Rome upon free-born citizens of England; how the Holy See has openly and defiantly proclaimed the Orders of English clergy to be utterly null and void; and how a vast cathedral has been built, endowed, and opened for the worship of the Faithful in the heart of Westminster.

'So far, but no further,' seems to sum up the position of Rome in England. She has made quick progress, but only up to a certain point; after reaching that point she seems, indeed, very slowly but continuously to have been receding. Her future, in spite of the inroads of Freethought, lies, nevertheless, in her own hands. Let her cease to be a Political Institution, and become a Church, and a Church only, and she may yet

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hold her own; let her cease to crush the spirit of inquiry, and the quest of truth, among the better-educated members of her own Communion, and she may yet check the intellectual revolt that is spreading inside her own doors; let her abandon the wretched claim of Infallibility for her Popes, and she may yet recover more of her lost ground. Let her, on the other hand, proceed unhindered on the same lines as at present, and she is doomed.

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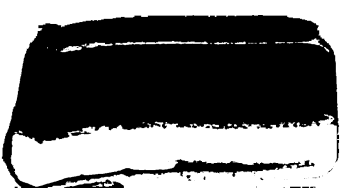

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